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HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED BY REQUEST

BEFORE THE

CITIZENS OF NEW HAVEN,

APRIL 25, 1838,

THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

OF THE

TOWN AND COLONY.

BY JAMES L. [✓]KINGSLEY.

NEW HAVEN:

B. & W. NOYES.

1838.



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THE author was invited, March 20th, 1838, by a joint committee of the Connecticut Academy, of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and of the Selectmen of the Town, of New Haven, to prepare a discourse for the Second Centennial Anniversary of the founding of the Colony. He subsequently received the following communication.

PROFESSOR JAMES L. KINGSLEY,

Sir—The Committees appointed to conduct the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of the Colony of New Haven, respectfully request that you will furnish them for publication, a copy of the very able Historical Discourse, which on that occasion you addressed to one of the most numerous and enlightened assemblies, ever convened in this city.

With the highest regard,

Your friends and fellow citizens,

BENJAMIN SILLIMAN,	}	<i>Committee of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.</i>
THOMAS HUBBARD,		
JONATHAN KNIGHT,		
LEONARD BACON,		
THEODORE D. WOOLSEY,		
EDWARD C. HERRICK,		
HENRY C. FLAGG,	}	<i>Committee of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City.</i>
BENJAMIN BEECHER,		
CALEB BRINTNALL,		
JOHN B. ROBERTSON,		
SOLOMON COLLIS,		
LEVI GILBERT, 2d.	}	<i>Committee of the Se- lectmen of the Town.</i>
MARCUS MERRIMAN, JUNR.		


New Haven, Thursday, April 26, 1838.

ERRATA.

Page 16, line 8, for June 3, read June 26.

“ 89, “ 18, “ January, 1647, read January, 1646.

“ 92, “ 9, “ Hodgson, read Hodshon.

 Some passages of the following Discourse, to avoid trespassing too much on the patience of the audience, were omitted in the delivery.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

WE are assembled, fellow citizens, to commemorate the close of the second century from the first planting of the town and colony of New Haven. This act of respect and pious gratitude to the founders of our city, we have been led to perform, less, it is believed, by the influence of custom, than by a strong conviction of the importance of the event which we celebrate, and a wish to impress on our own minds, and on the minds of those who shall come after us, the great truths which it is so well fitted to teach.

Hardly any feeling arises more spontaneously in the human breast, than that which prompts us to recur to times which are past, to review the events of former years, and especially to inquire into the characters and fortunes of those, whose actions in the order of providence have a near connection with our own allotment. It affords us a melancholy pleasure, unless a false philosophy has deadened our sensibilities, to visit the places of the burial of such men, to inspect their monuments, to traverse the ground which has been the scene of their exploits, and to mark by some appropriate observances, the times, which in their progress through life, have been especially signalized by disaster or success. Nor are such reminiscences without their

use. They bring to our view, more distinctly and with deeper conviction, the influence of man upon man, the connection of one generation and of one age with those which follow; enlarge our knowledge of the human character and of human interests, and at the same time quicken the most generous feelings of the heart. Our duties are made more clear, and our resolution to perform them strengthened and confirmed.

To indulge in reflections on the past, we are this day invited by numerous circumstances of deep and affecting interest. We are entering on the third century from the time, when civilization and christianity were first introduced into this part of New England. It is the same season of the year, the sun is moving in the same circle of the heavens, as on that day, when the original settlers of this town, first assembled after their arrival, to offer up, in the open air, their prayers and praises to that Being, who had conducted them in safety to this spot, and on whose almighty aid they relied for continued support. We now behold around us the same hills, the same plains, the same waters in the distance, as then greeted their eyes; and we see, what they were able to discern only in the dim future, and in the visions of hope, a cultivated region and a populous city, enjoying the advantages of literature and religion, and enlivened by the pursuits of agriculture, commerce and the arts. Let us, then, yielding to the dictates of our understandings, as well as of our feelings, briefly review the early history of New Haven; without stopping to apologize to those, who would deride the observance of such an anni-

versary as mere idle parade, or the lingering of puritanical prejudice.

The great cause, which led to the first colonization of New England, is well known to you all. But though the subject is trite, a reference to a few facts seems necessary, fully to illustrate the main topic now to be considered. The separation of the English church from the church of Rome was at first rather political than religious; it was rather resistance on the part of Henry VIII. to the power and authority of the pope, than a change in doctrines, or in the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline. That the rise of Protestantism should be gradual, was a matter of course. Individuals, much more large bodies of men, seldom renounce old opinions suddenly; especially opinions so fondly cherished and so strongly fortified by early associations, the influence of authority, and the powerful feelings of hope and fear, as those of religion. The right and obligation of the monarch to enforce uniformity in religious belief and worship, was at the beginning of the reformation, hardly questioned by any one; the only debate was, whether in particular cases he had determined correctly. His authority, therefore, was opposed by men, who, if they could have attained their object, would have persuaded him, not to give up the power of legislating in matters of religion, but so to exercise it as to support opinions, which they themselves had adopted.

At first the number of individuals who withstood the will of the sovereign, however capricious, was inconsiderable. The belief in the infallibility of those, who controlled the civil and ecclesiastical affairs

of the nation, and the dread of pains and penalties, seem for a time to have entirely subdued in the human mind all independent thought. But in a period of so much mental agitation, as that from the commencement of the reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. to the time of James I., it was impossible that this intellectual slavery should remain undisturbed. To believe, according to act of parliament, a doctrine to be at one time essential truth, at another the most fatal heresy, and at another a matter of indifference, at length exceeded the powers of a few; and the spell being once broken, diversity of religious faith was increased and strengthened. The art of printing had made books more accessible, the clergy as a body were more learned, men's minds were sharpened by controversy, and no human power could stop the progress of dissent. The puritans, as they were called, wished for greater changes in the church, especially in its discipline, than met the views of their civil and ecclesiastical superiors; and in consequence they were exposed to severe sufferings.

To these men of ardent minds and tender consciences, and goaded on by intolerance in some instances without doubt to extremes, submission to government against their own belief and sense of duty, appeared to be the greatest of crimes. With their convictions, they could neither comply with the ceremonies of the church as by law established, nor cease to worship after their own manner. But in neither of these respects could they find indulgence. The struggle which in consequence they endeavored to maintain with the power of the state

was unequal; and they soon began to look about them for the means of relief. To quit their country was a severe sacrifice; but this they were ready to make, if necessary to the free exercise of their religion.

Many of these oppressed individuals fled to the continent; in some parts of which, greater freedom of opinion was allowed than in England. But here they were under many severe restraints; and the great object for which they left their homes, the free exercise of religion, with the prospect of transmitting their own views of faith and manners to their posterity, was in danger of being defeated. As a last resource, they resolved to take refuge on the shores of North America. The boldness of this determination will not be sufficiently manifest, without looking at some of the circumstances in which it was formed. At the time, when the first company of puritans sailed from Europe for America, very little was known of that part of the continent, which was called New England. A few mariners had descried here and there a bay and a promontory, and had landed at some points on the coast; but they had furnished very slight information, where the shores could be with safety approached, or where were the most favorable places for establishing a colony. As to the nature of the soil and its productions, the number and character of the native inhabitants, their means of annoyance, and the best mode of conciliating their favor; and as to the climate, the possibility of obtaining a livelihood by agriculture or commerce, and the most favorable season for beginning a colonial establishment,

there was no distinct and credible account. That there was here a wide country, unoccupied, except by savages, is all that was certain. But what was still more discouraging than venturing to cast their lot in an unexplored region, was the utter uncertainty, whether the same oppressive bigotry, which had driven them from their homes, would not pursue them in their distant retreat.

Such were some of the difficulties and discouragements attending the planting of the first colony at Plymouth, in December, 1620. The news likewise, which the earliest pilgrims to America sent to their brethren whom they had left behind, must have been peculiarly afflictive and disheartening. It was a story of suffering and loss, of a severe climate, of an unpromising soil, of a savage population, of sickness and of death. Still there were found those, who were willing to join this uninviting settlement; and its numbers gradually increased. As information respecting this new country was more widely diffused, multitudes were found willing to forego their enjoyments in England, connected as they were with religious intolerance; and to transport themselves into a wilderness with its accompanying privations and sufferings, as some prospect was here held out to them of instituting communities, in conformity with their own notions of civil and religious polity. Accordingly projects of more extensive establishments on the American coast, were soon favored by persons of higher rank, and larger fortunes. An expedition originating in this way, sailed from England in 1628, and commenced the town of Salem in Massachusetts. An-

other expedition still larger, in the year 1630, landed at Charlestown, and began the settlement of Boston.

Encouraged by the partial success of these early adventurers, a new company for emigration was formed in England in the year 1636, chiefly through the efforts of Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and Edward Hopkins. The first of this number, Theophilus Eaton, was born about the year 1590, in Stony-Stratford in Oxfordshire; where, says Mather,* his father was a "faithful and famous minister." He received his education in Coventry, to which place his father had removed. At school, he formed an intimate acquaintance with John Davenport, a son of the mayor of the city, and with whom he was afterwards connected in leading a colony to America. The parents of Eaton were desirous, that he should follow the profession of his father; but his own inclinations led him to engage in commerce. Accordingly he was made a "freeman of London," entered into what was called the "east-country trade,"† that is, with nations on the shores of the Baltic, was chosen deputy-governor of the company of merchants, to which he belonged, and prosecuted his business with great success and reputation. In the course of his commercial transactions, he visited the northern countries of Europe, was the agent of the king of England at the court of Denmark; and the concerns of the company were so prosperous under his management, that he received from his associates distin-

* Magnal. Book II. 26.

† Note A.

guished marks of their approbation. "He arrived," says Mather, "unto a fair estate," was connected by a second marriage with a daughter of the bishop of Chester, and "spent many years," according to the same author, "a merchant of great credit and fashion in the city of London." In religion he was a zealous and active puritan. That he took an early interest in the emigrations to America, appears from the fact, that he was one of the patentees of Massachusetts; though probably, at first, he had himself no intention of leaving his country.

John Davenport was born in the year 1597, and was educated at the university of Oxford; where he received the degrees of Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Divinity. He took orders in the church at the age of nineteen, and was a minister of the establishment, in St. Stephen's Church, Colman street, London. His early friend Eaton was one of his parishioners. How soon he began to favor the doctrines of the puritans cannot now be ascertained; but in 1626, he with others, was concerned in purchasing lay impropriations in the church, which proceeding was pronounced, in the Exchequer chamber, through the agency of Laud, illegal, and the property thus acquired was confiscated to the use of the king. Mr. Davenport contributed his aid towards procuring the patent of Massachusetts; though from the fear of creating opposition, he did not allow his name to appear among the patentees. "Yet his purse," says Mather,* "was in it, his time was in it, and he con-

* Magnal. Book III. 53.

tributed unto it all manner of assistances." Before this he had been induced to inquire into the reasons, why a man of the eminence of John Cotton should deliberate on leaving his country ; and in this way probably became acquainted with the plans, which were in progress for colonizing New England. By such a course of conduct, Mr. Davenport could not fail to come under the censure of his diocesan ; and to avoid the penalties, to which he might be subjected, he assembled the principal members of his parish, and obtained their consent, that he should retire to Holland. After a residence in that country of about three years, he returned to London to unite with his early friend Eaton in removing to America.

Edward Hopkins, the remaining individual of those just mentioned, as taking a principal part in preparing for this new expedition, was a native of Shrewsbury, and born about the year 1600. He was step-son to Mr. Eaton, like him had acquired wealth by commerce, and was not less deeply imbued with the principles and feelings of the puritans. By the efforts chiefly of these three men, a company was formed of persons of standing and property, who for the sake of religious liberty, were willing to forego their ease and affluence, and encounter the hardships and dangers of the wilderness.

Let us here stop, and look for a moment at the nature of the enterprise, in which this company was about to engage. The knowledge of the coast of New England had been somewhat extended, since the first settlements were begun ; but it was still too imperfect to guide to any important prac-

tical determinations. The colonies of Plymouth, of Salem and of Boston, had suffered greatly by sickness; the prospect of a profitable commerce, or even of obtaining a comfortable subsistence, was distant and faint; and the danger from the native inhabitants was neither unreal, nor considered of little importance. These obstacles, however, had in part lain in the way of the previous adventurers. But another of a different character had arisen, which gave to the enterprise now contemplated the aspect of peculiar hazard; and which would have deterred men of less determined minds from taking any part in it; even if all discouragements before existing could have been removed.

The early colonists had hoped to retire beyond the reach, or to escape the notice, of their oppressors; but this expectation, faint at first, seemed now to have vanished. In April, of the year 1634, less than four years after the settlement of Boston, the king, Charles I, by a "commission for regulating plantations," gave archbishop Laud and others, what is denominated, "power of protection and government" over the "English colonies already planted," as well as over such as should be planted afterwards; and authorized them, for the "ease and tranquillity" of the colonists, "to make laws, ordinances and constitutions, concerning either the state public of the said colonies, or utility of private persons, and their lands, goods, debts, and succession;" and "for relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the souls of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tythes, oblations, and

other profits accruing, according to your good discretion, with the advice of two or three of our bishops, whom you shall think fit to call unto your consultations, touching the distributions of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiastical; and to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offense shall require.”* The prospect, therefore was, that if they should establish themselves on the remote shores of America at whatever hazard and sacrifice, they would be invaded in their retreat, by the very power, from which they had endeavored to escape; and particularly, that they would be brought under the same religious restraints, as they had before suffered, or even those of still greater rigor. They had full knowledge of the disposition of archbishop Laud towards dissenters from the established religion; nor could they doubt what was to be expected from commissioners of whom he was the head, armed with power to inflict on non-conformists in the colonies “loss of life or member,” according to their discretion.

Yet notwithstanding this additional cause of apprehension, a large company, under the direction of the men just mentioned, associated for removal to New England. These new adventurers were chiefly Londoners; men for the most part, whose business had been commerce, and who hoped to establish themselves in the same employment in

* 1 Hazard, 344. Hubbard, 264.

America. They appear to have determined, before leaving England, on no particular place for settlement; but sailed for Massachusetts, reserving the selection of a place of abode, till after their arrival. The company embarked in two ships, taking with them a large amount of property, and a number of persons in the capacity of servants; and arrived at the place of their destination, June 3d, 1637. They were very favorably received by their brethren, who had gone to America before them. Inducements were held out to the company to fix their residence in Boston; and likewise, to unite with the original colony at Plymouth; but they most probably entertained from the first, a wish to begin, if possible, a new settlement. Perhaps they were not altogether pleased with the state of things in either of the colonies already planted; and it is certain, that such accommodations as they looked for, in prosecuting their plans of trade, could not be easily found. They early wrote to their friends in Hartford, to purchase of the natives an extensive tract of country, between the rivers Connecticut and Hudson; but I find no evidence, that any purchase of this kind was completed. After visiting various places on the coast, in the neighborhood of Boston and Plymouth, Mr. Eaton, in August after his arrival, in company with several others, made a journey to the westward, for the purpose of exploring the country between Connecticut river and the Manhadoes, now New York. In his tour, he came to this place, then known by the name of Quinnipiac; and was so favorably impressed by its appearance, especially as a site for a

commercial town, that he seems to have soon determined on establishing here a new and distinct colony. Accordingly he left a few men on this spot for the winter, probably to make preparation for receiving the whole company, the following spring.

On the 30th of March, 1638, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Davenport, with their associates, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiac, and in about a fortnight arrived here in safety. Of the particulars of this voyage no memorial remains. The length of time which it occupied, is easily accounted for, from the necessity of caution in sailing on a coast, which had been so little explored. The first sabbath after their landing, which on highly probable grounds, is supposed to have been the fifteenth of April,* old style, corresponding, according to our present mode of reckoning time, to the twenty fifth of the same month, was celebrated under a large oak, near where College and George streets now intersect each other; and here this assembly of exiles, about to establish themselves in what they considered and called the "ends of the earth," was addressed by their pastor on the "temptations of the wilderness." At the present time, familiar as we are with the scenes which surround us, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to enter fully into the circumstances of this little band; and to sympathize with them in their joys and sorrows, their hopes and fears. Imagine yourselves transported to some distant region on the North-West coast of this continent, or on the shores of New Holland, ignorant in

* Note B.

a great degree of the country, surrounded by savages of doubtful friendship, with no sure prospect of long obtaining the means of support, and the government of your native country apparently resolved on defeating the very object, for which, with so many sacrifices, you had abandoned your homes; what, in such a case, would be your anxieties, your apprehensions, and your efforts? Or, to take another view of this subject,—what would induce you to enter on so bold and so desperate an adventure? Would any prospect of gain, or of reputation? Nothing within the range of probability would draw you to encounter such peril as is here presented, except that ardent religious zeal which actuated and supported the early colonists of New England.

The first subject which engaged the attention of these exiles on their arrival, was the instituting of a government to regulate their concerns. The colony at Plymouth, in organizing their civil state, acknowledged themselves the subjects of king James. The government of Massachusetts acted under the authority of a royal charter. The first emigrants to Connecticut considered themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; till after the settlement of three towns, they formed themselves into an independent body politic. The first planters of New Haven, recognized in their acts no human authority foreign to themselves. They appear to have studiously avoided any mention of their native country; or any allusion to the question of allegiance to the king of England. This matter they left to be determined afterwards as circumstances should render a decision expedient or necessary.

As they were beyond the limits of the Massachusetts patent; no reason existed for placing themselves under the jurisdiction of that colony. They were, therefore, according to their own view, in many important respects, in what philosophers have called a state of nature, independent individuals, subject to no authority, but such as they should create by voluntary compact. Accordingly, soon after their arrival at Quinnipiac, at the close of a "day of fasting and prayer," they formed and subscribed what they denominated a "plantation covenant." By this instrument they engaged, "that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates, and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules, which the scripture held forth to them."* This may be considered the original civil constitution of the New Haven colony. It was brief but comprehensive, embracing what the state of the colonists immediately required; and in its terms and provisions must have been well understood, by each individual concerned in its formation.

Here we cannot but remark the entirely practical character, which the whole of this transaction wears. No attempt is here made to frame specific regulations to meet the circumstances of a community so new, and the exigencies of which they were so little able to foresee; nor is there for their

* Col. Records.

general direction in deciding such controversies as might arise, reference to a code of laws of which they were ignorant, or with which they were imperfectly acquainted. It was the intention of the leaders of the colony, without doubt from the first, to make the bible the ground-work of their legislation; but in the temper and feeling with which these emigrants had left their native country, they might also have apprehended, that any recognition of the laws of England, however qualified, would lead to the introduction of English supremacy, and their own ultimate subjection to the very tyranny from which they had fled. To the scriptures, as a general guide in the administration of justice, there could be, in their minds, no such objection. No one would fear danger under a polity where every controversy was to be determined by rules easily accessible; and which all believed themselves able to comprehend and apply. The government thus instituted, was, in fact, a pure democracy, professedly controlled by the great principles of justice and equity; as these principles are illustrated in the book of revelation. The ready adoption, therefore, of such a plan of government as this, by an assemblage of individuals, with the opinions, and in the situation of the first New Haven colonists, was a matter of course.

What magistrates were appointed under this early regimen, we have no means of determining. Any civil organization at this period must have been of the most primitive kind; and all questions of importance were probably settled in a general meeting of the planters. The first great measure

for consideration must have been the acquisition of a proper title to the land which they wished to occupy. The actual possessors of the soil, though holding it only as a place of occasional hunting and fishing, they considered its rightful owners; and of these they made a fair purchase of as much land as they needed at the outset. In November, after the arrival of the colony, the chiefs of the native tribe dwelling on this ground, conveyed to Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others, their heirs and assigns forever, the plain west of the river Quinnipiac. For this the colonists gave what both parties undoubtedly considered a fair equivalent, in clothing, and in agricultural and domestic utensils; the Indians stipulating for the privilege of retiring within the English lines, if attacked by their enemies, and retaining the right of hunting and fishing as before. No calculation which either party could make at the time, would put upon the land a higher value, than the actual estimate. It is as much as we should be willing to give for an equal territory, perhaps it is even more, if we were now in like circumstances on the shores of New Zealand. Similar purchases were subsequently made, and there is abundant record evidence, that all the lands of the colony were purchased on just and equitable conditions; and it does not appear, that any important controversy with the Indians, on this subject, ever existed. We must come to later times, and extend our inquiries to other parts of the country, if we would find instances of overreaching and fraud, in transactions for lands with the native inhabitants. It deserves also to be here distinctly

stated, that though there may have been some slight disagreements between the new settlers and the original occupants of the soil, and the latter may have in a few instances manifested a hostile disposition, yet there never was an open war between the native Indians and the English in the New Haven colony; which fact Hubbard ascribes to a "due carefulness," on the part of the colonists, "in doing justice to them upon all occasions."* The treatment of the savages of Pennsylvania by William Penn, was not a whit more equitable or kind, than that showed the native inhabitants of this spot. The distinguishing policy of Penn, in his intercourse with the Indians, consisted in this, that he allowed no lands to be purchased of them, except on account of the government; the very course pursued here.†

The laying out of the town, and preparing means of defense against any attack from the savages, must have early commanded the attention of the colonists. As to the plan which was adopted for streets, for a public square, convenient access to the harbor, and communication with the surrounding country, the sound judgment exercised is every where visible; nor, do I suppose, that any important change, in these respects, would be made, if after the experience of two centuries, we could direct what the original design should have been.‡ As to defense against the native tribes, if they should prove hostile; some protection, for checking any sudden aggression on their part, and giving confi-

* 322.

| Note C.

‡ Note D.

dence to the new settlers, was indispensable. It does not appear, that the tribes of Indians, dwelling in the vicinity, showed any jealousy of the colonists, or were more than usually irritable or warlike; on the contrary, they were evidently a people of mild and gentle disposition, altogether inclined to afford the strangers a friendly reception, and looking to them as allies, rather than as enemies. But the friendly feelings of uncivilized nations, however strongly manifested, are to be relied upon with caution. To guard, therefore, against surprise or sudden attack, the town was surrounded with palisades; and strong gates were made at the entrances of the place, which were guarded every night with great strictness.

We may suppose, that the planters of our town, in addition to instituting a government of the simplest form, obtaining a title to their lands, and inclosing themselves by a rude fortification, passed the first summer in erecting a few buildings which might afford a shelter from the approaching winter, and making a beginning in cultivating the ground. Having thus brought their affairs into a state of comparative order and comfort, in June of the following year, they entered upon the subject of reorganizing their civil state; or what in modern language would be called, forming a new constitution. From our relation to the men engaged in this transaction, and as the business of making constitutions of government, was, at that time, a novelty in the world, it may not be uninteresting to look, with some particularity, at the mode of proceeding then adopted, as well as at what was

done, in laying the foundations of a commonwealth. The meeting for this purpose was in a new barn built by Mr. Newman, one of the principal colonists. To this council, the decisions of which were to be so important to the new community, all the free planters were admitted. Here then, at the outset, was a practical recognition of the principle, that the true foundation of government is in the consent of the governed.

No reference direct or indirect, was made by those concerned in this transaction, to their native country. As at the time the colonists signed their plantation covenant, so now, they seem to have supposed, that since they were in fact beyond the actual control of any existing sovereignty, they had a perfect right to institute a government for themselves. The business of the meeting, in conformity to the views of those assembled, and to the propriety of the case, was introduced by prayer; and Mr. Davenport proposed various queries to the planters, and urged them "to consider seriously in the presence and fear of God, the weight of the business they met about, and not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not; but to digest fully and thoroughly what should be propounded to them, and without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to give their answers in such sort, as they should be willing should stand upon record for posterity." They then unanimously assented to the proposition, "that the scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties, which they are to perform to God

and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church." After this, they renewed their assent to their plantation covenant; and among other fundamental regulations adopted this, which was by far the most important, "that church members only shall be free burgesses, and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding differences that may arise, and "doing all things and businesses of like nature." This article of the new constitution was objected to by one individual; who, however, after some explanations by Mr. Eaton and others, withdrew his opposition, and, perhaps, united with the rest of the assembly, in admitting this provision as a part of their political system.

The limitation of the right of voting and of holding public offices to church members, was obviously a favorite measure with Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport and other leading men of the colony; and what they designed from the first to make the foundation of their civil polity. The same regulation had before been adopted in Massachusetts; and it was, in fact, the same in principle as the English law, which has been repealed within a few years only, by which receiving the sacrament, in the established church, was a necessary qualification for holding any office under government. The planters were persuaded that a christian community ought to be governed on christian principles; and to secure this important object, they believed it necessary to confine all participation in public transactions to

those, who had expressly recognized those principles, and professed to make them the rule of their lives.

Mr. Davenport,* however, was far from adopting the opinion, that church members, as citizens, should be invested by law with exclusive privileges. On the contrary, he fully maintained, that none should be excluded "from any civil right or liberty, that is due to them as inhabitants and planters," and that all should have "the benefit of justice under the government where they live." To make distinctions here, he said, "were, indeed, to have the commonwealth swallowed up of the church." He held likewise, that there is a great difference "between a commonwealth already settled, and a commonwealth yet to be settled, and wherein men are free to choose what form they shall judge best." In the latter case, he would limit political rights to church members, if possible; but that a majority should control in settling the qualifications of voters, he readily admitted. Whoever affirmed the contrary, and defended the inherent right of the church to exercise the powers of government, was, according to John Davenport, a more fit subject for physic than for argument.

What the planters had in view, may be approved, without admitting the propriety of the means adopted for accomplishing their purpose. They wished to secure honesty and integrity in the public service; to bring the best men into office; those who would well understand the public good, and

* Note E.

undeviatingly pursue it. That so desirable an end could be attained without some limitation on the right of suffrage, they did not believe. All restrictions on this right, whether of age, residence, property or rank, are defensible only as they afford securities for an intelligent and honest exercise of so important a privilege. If such restrictions fail here, they are unjust and oppressive. The colonists, like other founders of states, aimed to ascertain the character of those, who were to vote for public functionaries. They were aware, that such as are the electors, such ultimately will be those who are elected, to administer the government. Hence the solicitude so strongly manifested by the first colonists of New Haven in executing what they denominated their "foundation work." If this should be firm, they had little apprehension about the superstructure.

The opinion of the planters as to the correspondence between the character of laws, and the character of those who make them, was obviously the same as that of the founder of Pennsylvania. "Governments," says William Penn, "rather depend upon men, then men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn. I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them: but let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men never want

good laws, nor suffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them, and the people are generally wise and good; but a loose and depraved people love laws and an administration like themselves."* It was from a firm belief of truths like these, that the puritans of Massachusetts and New Haven determined to confine the privilege of voting and of holding civil office to church members.

There was undoubtedly, in the peculiar danger to which the colony was exposed, an additional reason for limiting political privileges. Religious immunities, such as the colonists possessed, and which had been acquired by so great sacrifices, were considered as claiming the highest consideration, or rather as involving every other interest; and it was not unnatural in these circumstances, that some way should be sought after, which might exclude from direct participation in the government all who might be supposed to favor the ecclesiastical domination of the parent country. For this end, no plan probably appeared to the planters more effectual, than to confine the right of voting and of holding office to individuals of their own communion. They were founding what they designed to be a strictly christian commonwealth, and took what appeared to them the surest means of guarding it from declension. Such an enterprise they thought it possible to achieve; or, at least, they were willing to try the experiment. As they were finally

* Prond's Hist. of Pennsylvania, Vol. II. Append. II.

unanimous in admitting the provision in question into their constitution, there was no one of that generation, who could reasonably complain.

But with the more full opportunity which we have had of observing the operation of popular governments, there is no difficulty in seeing, that the colonists, however correct may have been their intentions, adopted a rule for determining the qualifications of voters, which, as a permanent measure, was likely to promote neither their civil nor ecclesiastical interests. The test promised much more than it could accomplish. Hardly any truth has been more fully confirmed by the experience of mankind, than that religious professions, like professions of patriotism, may be the loudest, where there is the least of the principle from which they can honestly proceed. Mere declarations, when employed as a check upon avarice and ambition, are of little worth. They serve often to embarrass the fair-minded and sincere; while they afford a convenient cloak for the designing. This abridgment of the right of suffrage was continued till the dissolution of the colony. It became, however, more and more the subject of complaint and controversy; and would probably have been abrogated within a few years, if it had not ceased to exist by the union of New Haven with Connecticut.

After the completion of the fundamental agreement, the organization of the government followed. The mode of proceeding in this important part of the civil arrangements of the planters, is so characteristic of the individuals concerned, and seems so well to illustrate the principles by which they

were guided, that, on an occasion like this, it merits our particular attention. For the purpose of selecting fit members for the beginning of a church and of a civil state, the town was divided into districts. In each of these districts, one who was considered the most suitable person to belong to the church, which was to be constituted, was selected and nominated for this purpose. The individuals thus named in these private assemblies, were authorized to meet and reduce their number to twelve; and these again from their body to choose seven, who were to stand as the original church members. These district assemblies were accordingly held, prayers were offered, the christian character of candidates was investigated, and seven individuals having passed this ordeal, were nominated as the constituent members of the first church.* With these men, therefore, was placed, by the voluntary act of the planters, all the civil and ecclesiastical power of the new commonwealth. Others they admitted to their franchise, or excluded from it, as they judged them qualified for admission to the privileges of the church. Property was not required to constitute a voter. Personal character, as developed in the attainment of church-membership, was the only ground on which any individual was admitted to the exercise of political power. Such was the first fully organized government of the town of New Haven.

But though this constitutional act, or, as it was called, "fundamental agreement," was adopted in

* Note F.

June, 1639, the first election under its provisions was not held till the 25th of October of the same year. At this time Theophilus Eaton was chosen magistrate, and four other persons were chosen deputies. To these were added a public notary and a marshal; all being elected for one year. This was the entire civil establishment. Among the first acts of the new government, was an order, "that a meeting-house be built forthwith," and "that the carpenters fell timber where they can find it." A committee was appointed "to have the disposing of all the house-lots yet undisposed of;" and "that none shall come to dwell as planters here without their consent and allowance." Vigorous measures were taken for arming the planters for defense against any attack by the savages. It was likewise "ordered, that no planter or planters shall make purchase of any lands or plantations from the Indians or others, for their own private use or advantage, but in the name and for the use of the whole plantation."

As to the division of lands, it was ordered, after each of the planters had made a representation of his property, that "every planter in the town shall have a proportion of land, according to the proportion of estate which he hath given in, and number of heads in his family." The advance, which might be made by retailers on "commodities bought in England," or introduced into the colony from "Virginia, the Bay, or Connecticut," and the price at which venison should be sold, was regulated by a public order. The price of labor of all kinds was likewise fixed by law. A watch was kept every

night with great strictness, and an order was issued, "that every man appointed to watch, whether masters or servants, shall come every Lord's day to the meeting completely armed, and all others also are to bring their swords; no man exempted, save Mr. Eaton, the pastor, [Mr. Davenport,] Mr. James, Mr. Samuel Eaton, [who were also ministers,] and two deacons." Various other similar regulations were adopted, originating in the peculiar circumstances of the colony, and illustrative of the condition of an infant settlement in the wilderness, and surrounded by savages. In September of the year 1640, the town was first called New Haven.

Within a few years, several other towns in the neighborhood, in which settlements had been begun, as Milford, Guilford, Branford, Stamford, and Southhold on Long Island, united with New Haven, and adopted the fundamental principle of the government. Their magistrates and deputies, with those of New Haven, formed the General Court of the colony. In each town, certain "fit and able men" were declared to be the ordinary judges, who with the magistrates held what was called a plantation court, in which civil causes might be tried, when the sum in controversy did not exceed twenty shillings; and all criminal cases, when the punishment "according to the mind of God revealed in his word," did not exceed "stocking and whipping;" or if the fine was pecuniary, that it "exceed not five pounds." Appeals might be made from the plantation courts, to the court of magistrates of the whole jurisdiction. The general interests of the colony were superintended and provided for by the General Court or

legislature. On the union of these towns in 1643, Mr. Eaton was first designated by the title of governor. As no detailed plan for constituting the magistracy was to be found in the "fundamental agreement," changes were made in the organization of the government by the General Court, whenever they were judged necessary; but there seems never to have been any reference to the planters in the several towns, or to a convention, to sanction these alterations. The wishes of the people as made known through their representatives, and their subsequent acquiescence, were probably thought a sufficient confirmation of what was done.

The course of legal proceedings in the New Haven colony was peculiar; especially as the courts conducted all trials without a jury. We are told by Hubbard, in his history of New England, that this exclusion of juries was a measure urged by Governor Eaton, whom he calls "a great reader and traveller."* It is probable, that this gentleman, during his residence in the north of Europe, where the institution of juries is unknown, formed a favorable opinion of the courts of those countries; and as New Haven was, in some respects, an experimental colony, he wished to conform the courts in this new settlement, so far at least as a jury was concerned, to a favorite model. Legal proceedings were almost entirely free from forms and technicalities; the parties told their own stories, with very little check from the court; introduced such evidence, for the most part, as they

* 320.

pleased; argued with the judges; and decisions were given according to what appeared to be the equity of the case. Full records of trials, both civil and criminal, which took place at this period, are preserved, which furnish a very distinct and graphic view of the state of the colony, and the character of the inhabitants.

Under this simple form of government, the colony continued till 1655; very few laws having been enacted, and the courts being guided in their decisions by the general principles of justice and equity, with such illustrations as could be drawn from the scriptures. In 1655, Governor Eaton was requested by the General Court to compile a code of laws for the colony; and that he might the better accomplish this undertaking, the court recommended, that he should consult Mr. Cotton's Discourse on civil government in a new plantation, and the laws of Massachusetts. Whether any dissatisfaction had been expressed by the people, that the courts were left so much to their own discretion, or whether it was their wish only, as in some other cases, to conform more exactly to the example of Massachusetts, is a matter of conjecture. The expediency, however, of such a code cannot be doubted. The work having been completed, it was first examined and approved by the elders of the jurisdiction, and afterwards accepted by the General Court. It was printed in England under the inspection of Governor Hopkins, and in 1656, distributed through the colony.

These laws, in connection with the recorded decisions of the courts, of which I have just spoken,

have been a fruitful topic of remark by two classes of persons; those who have wished to represent the puritans in the most forbidding and even odious character, and those who have considered them the proper subjects of satire and ridicule. Whatever is absurd or frivolous, or thought to be ultra-puritanical in government, has been most liberally charged upon the New Haven legislation; and thousands have believed implicitly in the existence of the "blue laws," who could scarcely be said to have any other article of faith.* To much of this calumny and vulgar wit, it would, perhaps, be sufficient to reply in the language of the defenders of New England in 1642. "Some," say they, "have been punished for their delinquencies, or restrained for their exorbitancies, or discountenanced for their ill opinions, and not suffered to vent their stuff; and hence being displeased, take revenge by slanderous report."† But on an occasion like the present, when the proceedings and characters of the founders of this colony are brought directly under review; it may not be improper,—it is rather an incumbent duty,—to inquire a little more particularly, into the provisions of this early code, that we may see, whether here, or any where else, there is proper ground for a very common impression on this subject.

The "fundamental agreement" of June, 1639, contained little more, than a determination of the question, to what class of persons the right of voting and of holding any office in the colony should

* Note G.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Col. 250,

appertain. What had been enacted, from time to time, by the General Court for instituting the magistracy, and the courts of justice, and for fixing the times of electing public officers, and which had been found, on trial, to be expedient, was now established, "as a foundation for government, though it was foreseen and agreed, that the circumstantialia therein.....might after be considered, continued and altered, as might best suit the course of justice and the conveniency of the plantations." The whole system was highly democratical; and its permanency was based on the character of the people, and on annual elections. It was made the duty of the legislature, among other things, "to provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and suppress the contrary," "to require an oath from all the magistrates," "to call them to an account for the breach of any laws established, or for other misdemeanors in their places," to impose an oath of fidelity on all "freemen, planters, and inhabitants, fit to take an oath," to order "such works and fortifications, as they conceived might tend to the better defense of the colony," "to regulate trade," to lay taxes, and to hear and determine causes, civil or criminal in the last resort.

On examining the more particular laws, one of the first things which strikes us, is a general enactment, intended, without doubt, as a concise declaration of the object and character of the whole system. It is in these words. "It is ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that no man's life shall be taken away, no man's honor or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be impris-

oned, banished or otherwise punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken from him, under color of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of this jurisdiction, established by the General Court, and sufficiently published; or for want of a law in any particular case, by the word of God." Is there here any thing ridiculous? any thing whimsical? any thing opposed to the dictates of common sense? On the contrary, do we not recognize in this prefatory statute of the New Haven code, the great principles of free government, expressed in language full and explicit? principles, which have been constantly kept in view from the first settlement of this state. Just that prominence and emphasis are here given to security of person and property, which might be expected. It was a matter of course, that men who had suffered so greatly as the first colonists of New England, from arbitrary imprisonments, exactions and forfeitures, should, in establishing a government for themselves, guard their privileges with especial care. This they did; and the statute now recited, which was copied from the laws of Massachusetts, and which was also prefixed to the Connecticut code of 1650, the General Court of New Haven adopted as a fit introduction to their legislative acts. It was contained, with little variation, in every edition of the laws of Connecticut till 1817, and is substantially incorporated into the present constitution of the state. We have here a proof, how well the principles of civil liberty were comprehended by our ancestors, and of their determination to maintain them.

It will not be expected, that every law of this early code, should now pass under review. A consideration of a few of its provisions, is all which the time allows, or the occasion demands. From the leading features of this specimen of early legislation, its general character can be easily discerned.

If there is any thing in the institutions of a free state, which shows the character of its founders, it is the regard paid to the education of youth. Religion, morals, enterprise, whatever benefits or adorns society, rest here on their surest foundation; and where effectual provision is made in the infancy of a community for general instruction, other salutary regulations may be expected to accompany them. Take from our commonwealth the universal education of our citizens, and our social system is at an end. The forms might continue for a time; but its spirit would have fled. To suppose, that pure religion, pure morals, an upright administration of government, and a peaceable, orderly, and agreeable intercourse in the domestic and social relations of life can exist, where the people as a body are ignorant of letters, is an egregious solecism. I do not say, that education is all that is needed; but without knowledge generally diffused, other means of improving human society, are comparatively weak and unavailing. This truth the first planters of New Haven strongly felt; and the record of their acts furnishes most honorable proof, that the course of their legislation was in conformity with their convictions.

Among the early proceedings of the General Court, while its jurisdiction was confined within

the limits of Quinnipiac, we find that an order was given to establish a public school for the instruction of youth, and a committee was appointed to consider "what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town." This order was made at the same time in which the planters were taxing themselves very heavily for the erection of bridges. The very year in which the "fundamental agreement" was entered into, we find a record, that Thomas Fugill is required to keep Charles Higginson, an indented apprentice, "at school one year ; or else to advantage him as much in his education, as a year's learning comes to." Charles Higginson was probably the first apprentice indented in the colony, and this condition of his apprenticeship was recorded, undoubtedly as an example of privileges to be granted to all in the same circumstances. Here is a proceeding, which marks as distinctly as any measure could, the views entertained by the leaders of the colony, of the value of education, the protection which ought to be extended to the indigent, and their regard for popular rights. If any one hereafter shall wish to inspect the early colonial records of New Haven, to find subjects of reproach or merriment, let him be referred to the entry of the indentures of Charles Higginson. If all the ridiculous and absurd reports which have been circulated about the New Haven laws were founded in fact, this single record, in the opinion of the intelligent and unprejudiced, would throw them at once into the shade. Such a course of policy as is here unfolded, such charity for a class of the community, at that time, and still,

under every European government but little regarded, would cover a multitude of sins. No suggestion for the adoption of a rule by which an elementary education was secured to apprentices, could have been received from any law of the parent country. No act of parliament, it is believed, embracing such a provision, exists in England, with all its improvement and wealth, to the present day.

But not only were the advantages of a common school education immediately secured to all, but with a wise reference to what is essential to the full success of common schools themselves, provision was very early made for the higher branches of instruction, and a grammar school was established. As early as 1654, when the colony was suffering from the failure of their commercial projects, and when the estates of individuals were greatly diminished, and even doubts were entertained by some, whether it was expedient to struggle any longer against disaster; Mr. Davenport gave a strong proof of his confidence in the stability of the settlement, and its ultimate prosperity, by the efforts which he made for the beginning of a college. He brought forward before the General Court a plan for such an institution; and the town of New Haven, notwithstanding its depressed state, made a donation in land for its encouragement. The project was, indeed, premature, and on further consideration was properly deferred to a later period; but it shows not less clearly, than if it had been put into immediate operation, the enlarged views of the projector, and the principles by which he was guided. The foundations of the colony he wished

to lay deep and firm; and the intelligence of the people was that, on which he chiefly relied, to give strength and durability to the political edifice.

It may not be irrelevant to the subject to remark here, that neither the system of common schools, nor of those of a higher class, originated in any strong expression of public opinion; but was devised and carried forward by such men as John Davenport. A glance at the course of legislation on this subject, is sufficient to establish this truth beyond doubt. Schools were at first instituted by a general law, without any penalty to secure its execution; but this proved insufficient. Another law, therefore, respecting children's education, was introduced into the New Haven code of 1656, which was very explicit, and guarded by abundant sanctions. The deputies, constables, and other officers in public trust, are required "to have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors," and to take care "that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may through God's blessing, attain at least so much, as to be able duly to read the scriptures, and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the christian religion necessary to salvation; and to give an answer to such plain and ordinary questions, as may by the said deputies, officer or officers, be propounded concerning the same." Delinquents under this law were first warned; if they continued in fault, they were fined; if no reformation followed, the fine was doubled; if it still appeared, that the

children or servants of any family were "in danger to grow barbarous, rude and stubborn through ignorance," the court of magistrates is authorized "to proceed as they find cause, either to a greater fine, taking security for due conformity to the scope and intent of this law, or may take such children or apprentices from such parents or masters, and place them for years,—boys till they come to the age of one and twenty, and girls till they come to the age of eighteen years,—with such others, who shall better educate and govern them, both for public convenience, and for the particular good of the said children or apprentices."

The course of legislation in Connecticut, and in the united colony after 1665, shows conclusively, that neither the prospect of advantage from education, nor the dread of penalties, was sufficient to secure the proper execution of the laws respecting schools. Accordingly, the select-men of every town were required to see that none "suffer so much barbarism in any of their families," as not to "teach their children and apprentices so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue;" and by a subsequent statute, it was made the duty of the grand-jurymen in each town, once a year, at least, "to visit suspected families and satisfy themselves, whether all children under age and servants in such suspected families, can read the English tongue, or be in a good procedure to learn the same." Still later it was enacted, that "if any be unable to do so much," that is, to teach their children and apprentices to read the English tongue, "that then at the least, they procure such

children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents, or masters, or ministers, when they shall call them to an account of what they have learned in that kind ;” and all who were found delinquent were subjected to heavy penalties. These are specimens of the early laws of New Haven and Connecticut on the subject of schools. From this detail it is manifest, that the introduction of the common school system was a work of time, and of unwearied effort. By perseverance, however, the benefits of education were finally perceived and acknowledged by all ; a school was brought to every man’s door ; the poor, and even the slave, were within the reach of instruction ; and hence, for nearly a century and a half, a native of Connecticut of mature age, unable to “read the English tongue,” has been looked upon as a prodigy.

It has been a matter of some curiosity to ascertain, to what man, or class of men, the honor of having originated our system of schools, belongs. A distinguished citizen of Connecticut remarked more than forty years ago : “Did I know the name of the legislator, who first conceived, and suggested the idea, [of common schools,] I should pay to his memory, the highest tribute of reverence and regard. I should feel for him, a much higher veneration and respect, than I do for Lycurgus and Solon, the celebrated legislators of Sparta and Athens. I should revere him as the greatest benefactor of the human race ; because he has been the author of a

provision, which, if it should be adopted in every country, would produce a happier and more important influence on the human character, than any institution which the wisdom of man has devised.”*

Perhaps the honor of devising the scheme of popular education, which has prevailed in New England, belongs exclusively to no individual. It originated rather in the general wish to bring all directly to the scriptures for religious knowledge, and in a regard for popular rights, both of which were distinguishing traits of puritanism, than in the sagacity and benevolent efforts of any one man. But if the inquiry should be, to whom is to be ascribed the honor of establishing the school-system of the New Haven colony, the question is easily answered. It is the just due of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport; or if a distinction must be made here, abundant evidence exists in the colony records, that the preeminence belongs to the latter.† In John Davenport was that deep conviction of the value of general intelligence, especially, in his view of the subject, as the means of diffusing sound religious instruction, that energy and that resolution, which are essential to the successful introduction into a community of a practical common school system; and it is to men like him, that the credit should be given, of having by their influence carried this system forward, to its full execution.

The extension of common schools, and their effect on the general interests of society, have been far

* 1 Swift's System, 159.

† Note II.

greater, than could have been anticipated by those, who in the infancy of New England, introduced and nurtured them, with such exemplary perseverance. They have increased not only in numbers, but in strength; and their hold on the affections of the people, has, with the progress of years, been more and more firm. The numerous emigrants from those states, where common schools were first established, have, in their wide dispersion, carried the system with them. A school they have considered as next in necessity to a shelter from the elements; and as the forests disappear at the west, one of the first structures in a New England settlement, which greets the eye, is the school-house. Those parts of New England, which were originally settled without the school-system, have from a view of its advantages, for the most part adopted it; the northern and western parts of the United States, where the influence of New England emigrants has been most felt, have adopted it; the same system is viewed with increasing favor, where its establishment is yet but partial; and the time may be reasonably anticipated as not far distant, in which its prevalence will be co-extensive with the population of the Union. The source of the wide-spread and incalculable benefits of popular education in America, may be traced, without danger of error, to a few of the leading puritans; and among these, the founders of the little colony of New Haven, deserve a most honorable place. Hubbard says,—“They,” the people of New Haven, “made many attempts, all along from the first to the last of their being a distinct colony,—even

such as were above their strength,—to promote learning by public schools.”* To the vigorous and patient efforts of these men, we are indebted for this effectual mode of really benefitting the many; and it may not be too much to say, that if the early pilgrims, more particularly of Massachusetts and Connecticut, had not struggled and toiled for this great object, and if they had not been immediately succeeded by men who had imbibed a large portion of the same spirit, the school-system of New England would not now exist.

On examining further Governor Eaton’s code, and the recorded proceedings of the government, we find that provision was made in the colony by law, for the support of religion. The same regulation was adopted in the colony of Connecticut, and was continued after the union in 1665. This measure has called forth commendation from some, while with others it has been a subject of censure and reproach. But it should be recollected, that the great object of the establishment of the colony, was religion. Placing this out of view, perhaps not an individual of the settlement would have ever removed to America. Religion, therefore, with the first inhabitants, was, in the highest sense, a matter of public interest. It was the subject of all others nearest their hearts; and the last which they would allow to be dependent on charity. The first clergy in the New Haven colony, as in the other colonies of New England, were men of learning as well as of talents; they had, most of them, received their

education in the English universities, and had enjoyed all the advantages in preparing themselves for their profession, which England afforded. Whatever may be true now, to support at that time, in a few feeble and dispersed settlements, such men, with a prospect that they would be succeeded by others worthy of their places, was impossible without public aid.

The ministers also in the several congregations, had the principal part in forming the character of the new communities. The whole subject of education was one, which fell principally to their charge. If a legal maintenance had not been secured to them, devoted as the people at first were to religion, there is no reason to believe from any facts recorded, that the country in a few generations, would not have been overrun by ignorance and fanaticism. If we are now secure against these evils, it is to be attributed principally to the general education which prevails; which these men, more than any others, were active in promoting. Besides, there is no evidence, that for the first hundred years after the settlement of the colony, the support of the pastors of the churches by law, was a subject of complaint; and for fifty years more, complaints, if they existed, were confined to a very small number. The first colonists had been accustomed to pay tithes in their native country. Here they adopted a system far less onerous, and contributed to support those, who were pastors by popular choice, and the objects of their respect and reverence. According to the law of the New Haven colony, certain magistrates in each town called on all the in-

habitants and desired every one "to set down the proportion he was willing and able to allow yearly, while God continued his estate, towards the maintenance of the ministry;" and if any one refused or delayed, or set down "an unmeet proportion," the magistrates were authorized, "to assess every such person, according to his visible estate, with due moderation, and in equal proportion with his neighbors." Those who maintain, that the course adopted was wrong, must still admit, that it was far less objectionable, than that, to which the colonists had been used in England.

But, it is said, that laws were enacted both in New Haven and Connecticut, requiring attendance on religious worship; and that these laws are evidence of the over rigid and oppressive spirit of the puritans. But before we decide positively on this subject, we ought to inquire, whether this legal requirement to be present at the public services of religion, was exclusively a puritanical measure. What then was the law of England respecting this same subject? If we turn to the act of the 35th of Elizabeth, entitled an act "to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience,"—we shall find, that "any person or persons, above the age of sixteen years, which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service established by her Majesty's laws and statutes in that behalf made,"—"or shall advisedly or maliciously move or persuade any other person whatsoever to forbear or abstain from coming to church to hear divine service, or to receive the communion according to

her Majesty's laws and statutes"—"or be present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion contrary to her Majesty's said laws and statutes," and being thereof lawfully convicted, "shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprize, until they shall conform and yield themselves, to come to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, and hear divine service according to her Majesty's laws and statutes aforesaid." The offender not conforming, he was obliged "to abjure the realm," and "if he return," it is added, "without her Majesty's special license in that behalf,"—"the person so offending shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy." What law, in any part of New England relating to religious worship, can be compared in severity to this? Here is one of the laws, from which the puritans fled; and the corresponding laws enacted in New Haven and Connecticut, though all would now condemn them as unnecessarily rigid, and in cases which might occur, encroaching on the rights of conscience, yet compared with the law just recited, and this is the only proper mode of judging concerning them, they are forbearing, lenient, mild. The laws of Virginia, likewise, which were enacted in the infancy of that colony, to compel every person to go to church, on Sundays and holydays, were far more severe, than those of any part of New England.

It should also be recollected, that the early laws of Connecticut enforcing attendance on public worship, concerned congregationalists alone; as none

other than congregationalists were in the colony. In the year 1665, when the king's commissioners visited New England, they reported, that the people of Connecticut "will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments, and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister ;"*—as high a religious privilege, as any enjoyed by dissenters in England at the present day. When, after an interval of more than half a century, religious societies were formed in Connecticut, which adopted the ritual of the church of England, not only were these societies allowed, but all belonging to them, as soon as it could be conveniently done, were released from contributing to the support of the congregational ministers. The same liberty was allowed to those who adopted other forms of worship; nor is there reason to believe, that these changes in the original enactments were made, without the concurrence of a large majority of the congregational clergy. What then is the amount of the objections against the laws which have been considered? When all the inhabitants of the New Haven and Connecticut colonies entertained the same views of religion, all by law contributed to its support, were required to attend on the religious instruction thus provided, and were satisfied, that it should be so. As a diversity of religious opinions was introduced, the laws were accommodated to this new state of the community. Douglass, who had little sympathy with the puritans, said in 1753, "I never heard of any persecu-

* Hutch. Col. 412.

ting spirit in Connecticut; in this they are egregiously aspersed.”* This is true; and the aspersions referred to by this author have not been discontinued. But it may be said without fear of contradiction, from any one who knows whereof he affirms, that no example can be produced in the whole history of christian nations, where a community unanimous in their religion, and urged by so many inducements to maintain it, have changed their laws, and made every concession desired, more promptly, fully, and cheerfully, than the people of Connecticut.†

It has been likewise objected to the New Haven code, that it contained a severe law against lying; against “wittingly and willingly” making and publishing “any lie, tending to the damage or injury of any particular person, or with intent to deceive and abuse the people with false news or reports.” This law has been supposed to contain the very essence of puritanism. Horrible tyranny! that a whole community should, in their communications with each other, when professing to speak the truth, be confined to plain matter of fact; and that individuals should be so far abridged of their liberty, as not to be able, at will, “to deceive and abuse the people with false news or reports.” But the puritans did not originate this law. Moses long ago said, “thou shalt not raise a false report;”‡ and if we look back into the code of the good king Alfred, the wise sovereign of our Saxon ancestors, the subject of unceasing and unbounded panegyric, we

* Summary, Vol. II. 135.

† Note I.

‡ Ex. 23 : 1.

shall find a similar law ; not guarded, like our New Haven statute, by the sanctions of a fine, the stocks, and the whipping-post ; but whoever was found guilty in the premises, was doomed to have his tongue cut out. What a tongueless nation should we be in danger of becoming, under the operation of such a law as this ! But the puritans of New England, were not in their own times, singular in their laws against lying. Similar laws existed in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, the Catholic colony of Maryland, and the Episcopal colony of Virginia.*

But it is said, that there was a law in the New Haven code, against heretics ; and that persons were tried in New Haven for witchcraft. As to heresy, there were one or two instances in the New Haven colony, where punishment was inflicted for this crime. In March, 1658, Humphrey Norton, a quaker, who had a short time before made himself notorious in Plymouth, uttered what were considered heretical opinions, and in a disorderly manner, interrupted public worship, at Southhold, on Long Island. For this conduct he was arrested, and sent to New Haven for trial ; where, on a charge of heresy and of disturbing the public peace, he was convicted, and sentenced to be whipped and branded. But the quakers, who came into New England, at that time, were boisterous, turbulent and seditious, and the individual above named exhibited, on his trial, in a high degree, the usual characteristics of that portion of the sect. These

* Chal. 341, 352.

circumstances, however, by no means justify the proceedings in his case. A milder course would have equally restrained disorder, and had a greater tendency to convince the offender of error. But the severity against this quaker was small, compared with what took place in other parts of New England, and especially in the parent country.*

As to witchcraft, trials of persons charged with this crime, were held in New Haven, but I do not find, that any one was convicted, much less, condemned to death.† The court, on all occasions of this kind, acted as if they had approached the conclusion, long after commended by Blackstone, “that in general, there has been such a thing as witchcraft, though one cannot give credit to any particular modern instance of it.”‡ It is a great mistake also to suppose, that arraigning, trying and hanging witches, had any necessary connection with puritanism. The learned and profound Cudworth,§ one of the brightest ornaments of the English church, declared in 1678, that disbelievers in the existence of witchcraft, “can hardly escape the suspicion of having some hankering towards atheism;” and more than half a century after the colony of New Haven ceased to be a distinct jurisdiction, witches were by the English courts condemned to the gallows. The laws against witchcraft in England were not repealed, till the ninth year of George II.; that is, till about a century after the settlement of New Haven. But we are told by Douglass, that

* Note K.

† Note L.

‡ Comm. Book IV. C. 4.

§ Intellect. Syst. Book I. Ch. 4.

"these puritans were pious, honest, well meaning people; but too contracted, rigid, and singular in their discipline and practice of devotion."* This must be admitted to be, to some extent, true. I am far from thinking the puritans to have been faultless. Rigid they most certainly were; and their severity, in cases of immorality, was too often extreme. Their piety also had the appearance, at times, of austerity and asceticism; and here, we are to look for their chief failings. But though hard-favored and unaccommodating, and somewhat confined in their views on certain points, they were not in the proper sense bigoted; if by bigotry, we are to understand an obstinate and blind attachment to their own particular creed. What was the language of Robinson to the first church at Plymouth? Though well known, it will bear repetition. "If God reveal any thing to you," says this puritan divine, "be as ready to receive it by any other instrument of his, as ever you were to receive any truth from my ministry.—I beseech you remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive, whatever truths shall be made known to you from the written word of God."†

Look at the language used to their brethren of the church of England, by the first emigrants to Massachusetts. "We are not of those," say they, "that dream of perfection in this world; yet we desire, that you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the church of England,

* Summary, Vol. I. 371.

† Morton's Memorial, by Davis, 29.

from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she especially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging, that such part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom." "We shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus."* And when the excellent Higginson of Salem saw the shores of his native country sinking in the distance, he called his children around him on the deck of the ship, and said, "We will not say, as the separatists were wont to say, at their leaving England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome!—But we will say, farewell dear England! Farewell the church of God in England, and all the christian friends there."† This was the language of most of the puritans, who first came to America. Their opposition to the church of England was chiefly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.‡ If there are any, therefore, among their descendants, who are unwilling to receive truth from whatever quarter it comes; or if there are any, who do not feel a reverence for the church of England, and pray for its prosperity, they neither hold the opinions, nor cherish the spirit, of their fathers.

Most of the leading laws, therefore, of the New Haven colony, may be pronounced to have been wise

* 1 Hutch. 487.

† Mather's Magnal. Book III. 74.

‡ Note M.

and salutary, and well suited to the circumstances of the people for whom they were framed. That some enactments were of a questionable character, and a few plainly injudicious, no one will deny. But it will be asked; was there not a collection of laws, which was never published, relating more particularly to the domestic and private concerns of individuals? laws so frivolous and absurd, as to have been long a favorite topic of sport and ridicule? To this I can say only, that of such an unpublished code, I have never seen any trace. No allusion to such laws can be found, it is believed, in the records of the colony. That in the early periods of the settlement, the conduct of individuals was subjected to a more strict supervision, than would be tolerated in a larger community, is undoubtedly true. From this circumstance, various distorted representations of the early laws of New Haven have been industriously circulated, false in fact, and injurious to the character of the first planters. As in Massachusetts, so in New Haven, the proceedings of the courts seem to have been adapted in many cases "to the circumstances of a large family of children and servants."* The application also of the "general rules of righteousness," was often made with excessive rigor, and in a way to harden, rather than to reclaim, offenders; but that there were any sumptuary laws, laws regulating dress, or encroaching on the prerogative of fashion, I have never discovered the slightest evidence.†

As to the general history of the colony of New Haven, a few particulars only can be mentioned.

* 1 Hutch. 435.

† Note N.

In 1643, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Gregson were appointed commissioners, to meet others from Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, to consult for the common interest; and in consequence the four colonies formed a league offensive and defensive. At the subsequent meetings of the commissioners during the life of Gov. Eaton, it is believed, that he always appeared as one of the delegates of New Haven, and several times presided over the deliberations of this first American congress.

It has been already stated, that it was the original plan of Mr. Eaton and his company to build up here a commercial town. The colony was composed chiefly of persons, who had spent their lives in trade, and who were but poorly fitted for any other employment. The project of an establishment more strictly mercantile, than any which had been before begun, was not wholly visionary. The coast of America with its rivers and harbors, had, indeed, been but partially explored, and the resources of the country for a profitable trade, must have been, in a great degree, a matter of conjecture; yet it was by no means irrational in the emigrants to infer, that, on their arrival in New England, a place could be found convenient in all respects, for their purposes. That the colony, which they succeeded in planting, was at first unsuccessful as a trading community, we know; but with the limited knowledge which they possessed of the country, and the misfortunes to which they were subjected, they can hardly be charged with a want of vigor or prudent forecast. When they arrived at Boston, the Narragansett Bay and Connecticut river were

in possession of earlier English colonists, or the Dutch; and the Dutch had also formed a settlement at Manhadoes. It was a favorite object of Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport, and with the views entertained by them, not an unwise one, to begin a colony without the limits of any existing patent. Accordingly they fixed upon Quinnipiac. Their expectation was, to carry on a commerce with the other New England colonies and the Dutch; and by an establishment at the mouth of the Delaware river, to barter with the native inhabitants for beaver, in such articles as they should receive from Europe. The scheme was plausible; but the Dutch disputed with them the right to their land; the trading house which they built at the Delaware, was destroyed by the Swedes; and the ship, which they built, as a last resource, for a voyage to Europe, was lost at sea. The property of the principal inhabitants, in consequence of these disappointments and disasters, was greatly reduced, their plans of wealth were defeated; some returned to Europe, and a proposition was made the colony by Cromwell, to remove to the Island of Jamaica, or to Ireland. But they had now formed an attachment to their new residence. The entire freedom from foreign control which was here enjoyed, would give, we may reasonably conjecture, to any project of removal, in the view of the planters, the appearance of doubtful expediency; while the loss of their wealth opposed a serious obstacle to any new enterprise, which would necessarily involve very large expense. Their determination was to continue, where they were; and in consequence they be-

came, instead of a commercial, chiefly, for a time, an agricultural community. Still they carried on a trade with the other towns on the coast, and with Barbadoes, and perhaps other islands in the West Indies. The West India trade was begun by the first planters, and has probably never been interrupted, except by war. As it was the earliest, so it has continued to be the latest, foreign commerce, in which the New Haven merchants have engaged.* The first colonists here suffered likewise from sickness, which seems to have been much aggravated at times by the want of competent physicians. But on this subject, little information can be obtained.†

It ought not to be passed over in silence, that the first inhabitants manifested a desire to ornament their town, and to make it a pleasant residence. Hubbard intimates, that they expended their property profusely for this object. His language is, "they laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein, they at the first out-did the rest of the country."‡ However this may be, there is no doubt, that New Haven from the first, has been noted for neatness and simple elegance; and for this, it is largely indebted to the taste and liberal expenditures of the original settlers. They set an example, which their descendants have worthily followed. Chalmers, who disliked the Americans, and took every opportunity to depreciate their merits, sums up the history of the New Haven colonists, in these words: "they for eight and twenty years enjoyed

* Note O.

† Note P.

‡ 334.

the delights of independent insignificance;”*—as if dependent insignificance would have been any better.

Before leaving the colonial history of New Haven, it seems proper to take a somewhat nearer view of the character of the two principal leaders of the settlement, Eaton and Davenport. These two men, in the language of Mather, were “the Moses and Aaron” of this new settlement; and whatever there was of good or evil, of wisdom or folly, in laying the foundations of civilized society in this part of New England, must be ascribed in a great measure to them. Though the government, which was established, was extremely popular in its form, these men without doubt, were looked up to for devising and executing the most important measures. Their “company,” as it was called, appear to have had entire confidence in their sound judgment, ability and integrity; and they did nothing to forfeit the good opinion of their followers. Their influence in all the concerns of the colony, especially in what respected the form of government, the means of education, and the institutions of religion, must have been constant and commanding. Gov. Eaton, from his course of life before embarking in this undertaking, was prepared, in many important respects, to act in it with vigor and discretion. From his arrival to manhood, he had passed his time in active employments. His commercial transactions, which were conducted on no inferior scale, had brought him into connection with various classes of men,

and qualified him to manage extensive and complicated concerns. His residence in the north of Europe, without doubt, contributed largely to fit him for the expedition in which he afterwards engaged. As the leading object of his coming to America was to enjoy unrestrained his own religious views, his union with Mr. Davenport in this enterprise, was well judged, and fortunate for them both. They had been intimate from early life, their religious opinions must have been substantially the same, and their general notions of government, and of the kind of institutions proper for an infant society, could not have been very dissimilar. Though the colony failed to become as important a commercial establishment, as was hoped, yet Gov. Eaton seems not to have lost, in any degree, the respect and confidence of the planters. He was chargeable with no fault, and was the subject of no blame. Though from his standing and property, he was one, to whom all others engaged in this project of colonization, would look for advice and direction, yet there is no evidence, that he at any time manifested a disposition to elevate himself, or to exercise any authority which was not voluntarily conferred. Prudence and firmness were his most obvious characteristics; and so high an opinion was entertained in the colony of his sincerity and integrity, that his simple declaration was always received with implicit confidence. His estate must have been greatly diminished by his removal to America; and the loss of numerous enjoyments to which he had been accustomed, must have been severely felt; yet, says Gov. Hopkins, "I have heard him say, that he

never had a repenting or repining thought about his removing to New England." "Surely," adds Gov. Hopkins, "in this matter he hath a grace far out-shining mine."* This feeling he seems to have cherished to the last; since, the evening before his death, on his wife's proposing to him to return to their native country, he replied emphatically, "I shall die here." The loss of Gov. Eaton was greatly lamented. From the length of time he had presided over the colony, he had become identified with all its interests.

John Davenport was a man of more native ardor than his associate, and possessed that fixedness of principle and firmness of resolve, which fitted him to encounter opposition, and to embark in difficult and dangerous enterprises. The opinions of the puritans he adopted in their full extent; and persecution, as usually happens in the case of men of ardent temperament, instead of breaking his spirit, forced him to the extremes of his system. He thought, that reformers were prone to linger, and even to halt, in their course; and that after they had made a certain progress, their further improvement was hopeless. It was a saying of his, that as "easily might the ark have been removed from the mountains of Ararat, where it first grounded, as a people get any ground in reformation, after and beyond the first remove of the reformers."† He was roused, therefore, as we are told by Mather, "to embark in a design of reformation, wherein he might have opportunity to drive

* Mather's Magnal. B. II. 24.

† Mather's Magnal. B. III. 53.

things, in their first essay, as near to the precept and pattern of scripture, as they could be driven." With these views and feelings he came to New England. If a part of his plan of a commonwealth proved to be impracticable, a part has stood the severe trial of time; and his success has been greater, than that of most theorists in government.

I am aware, that there has been an impression among some in this community, that Mr. Davenport was fond of power; that he was overbearing and arbitrary, and exercised a kind of dictatorship in the colony. On what just foundation such an opinion rests, I have never been able to discover. That he had an extensive and commanding influence in all the colonial transactions; that he possessed those qualities of mind, which fitted him to become a leader of others, and insensibly to mould them to his views, there can be no doubt; but there is no evidence, that this ascendancy was ever sought by him, or when possessed, was employed for unworthy purposes. Whatever preeminence he attained, was voluntarily conceded to long tried and acknowledged intelligence, integrity and wisdom.

If he had been influenced by a thirst for power, we might expect to find traces of it in the colony laws; some valuable immunities of the clergy, some share granted them in the legislative or judicial departments of the government. But nothing of this character is to be found there. On the contrary, by the New Haven code, the clergy, so far from having any civil power, could not even perform the marriage ceremony; this being placed exclusively in the hands of the magistrates. The church which

was formed under his advice and superintendence, was organized on principles strictly independent; a sort of spiritual democracy, in which, if there were any lords, they were "lords brethren." But what must place the question out of all doubt, whether Mr. Davenport assumed improper power in the colony, is the single fact, that when he was invited to Boston in 1668, his removal was universally opposed by the people of the town. As he was determined to leave them, they appear to have silently acquiesced in the measure; but never to have given it their formal assent. This is not the mode, in which mankind act, when about to be relieved from even a moderately exercised tyranny. As to the estimation in which the other principal men of New Haven were held in New England, I can only refer to Hubbard, who in characterizing the colony, speaks of the "eminency of sundry persons, suited for civil offices, and capable to manage those of a much vaster territory, than this was, or was ever like to be."*

In 1662, John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, obtained a charter for that colony from the king, Charles II., "as amply privileged a charter," says Mather, "as was ever enjoyed perhaps by any people, under the cope of heaven."† In this charter, the colony of New Haven was included. The people of this colony, generally, had no expectation of such an event; and when the news first arrived of their union with Connecticut, they were thrown into a violent ferment. Governor

* 318.

† B. I. 24.

Winthrop, however, would not have acted in so important an affair without advice; and according to Hubbard,* Gov. Leete recommended the measure. But it must have been done secretly. After much opposition, New Haven finally yielded; and in 1665, the union with Connecticut was formed. This connection proved highly salutary; and that New Haven was ever a separate jurisdiction, was soon forgotten, or remembered only as matter of history.†

After the union, the separate history of New Haven, is not easy to be ascertained. In an answer to inquiries by the lords of the committee of colonies, by the government of Connecticut, in 1680, forty two years after the planting of New Haven, it is stated, that the militia of the county of New Haven were six hundred and twenty three, being about a fourth of the colony. They say, that they have in the whole colony "about twenty petty merchants, some trade to Boston, some to the Indies and other colonies." New Haven, from its situation, must have shared largely in this trade; though it appears from the report, that it was inferior to New London as a place of commerce. They make a very unfavorable representation of the country. It is, they say, "mountainous, full of rocks, swamps, hills, and vales." "What land is fit, is taken up; what remains, must be gained out of the fire by hard blows and small recompense." "The value of our annual imports probably amounts to £9000." "The property of the whole corporation doth not amount to £110,788 sterling." "Twenty

* 311.

† Note Q.

four small vessels belong to the colony." In this account of their "poor colony," as they call it, they add, "there are no duties on goods exported or imported, except on wines and liquors; which though inconsiderable, are appropriated to maintain free schools."*

In 1700, the first successful efforts were made for the founding of a college in Connecticut; which in 1716 was established permanently in New Haven. On its history, and on the character and services of the men who have been concerned in its government and instruction, I have no time to enlarge. I omit also to notice the ecclesiastical concerns of the town, as full justice will be done this part of the subject by another.†

In 1724, the number of dwelling houses in New Haven was about one hundred and sixty three; and the number of inhabitants may be estimated at that time at not far from one thousand. The first exact census of the town is believed to have been taken in 1787, when the population was found to be three thousand five hundred and forty, including one hundred and seventy six students of Yale College. The number of dwelling houses was four hundred and sixty six.

The earliest account of the commerce of New Haven, which is definite in its details, is contained in a report from Col. Wooster to Gov. Trumbull in 1774. "The trade of this part of the colony," says Col. Wooster, "is entirely to the West India islands; and the exports are horses, oxen, pork, beef, tallow,

* Chalm. 310.

† Rev. Leonard Bacon.

and lumber, and the imports West India produce. The shipping belonging to this port, are one hundred and eight vessels, consisting of brigantines, sloops and schooners, amounting to seven thousand, one hundred and seventy tons, carpenter's measure. The number of sea-faring men is seven hundred and fifty six."*

In the revolutionary war, the town suffered severely; its shipping was almost entirely destroyed, and its business greatly interrupted. For several years after the peace of 1783, New Haven had its full share of the evils of an inefficient general government; and was relieved only by the successful operation of the federal constitution of the United States. The new government infused vigor into every department of society; and from 1789 to the present time, with the exception of occasional reverses, the town has advanced regularly in numbers and wealth.

In looking back upon those periods of the history of New England and of the United States, when any of the great interests of the country were especially endangered, it is gratifying to see,—and it deserves at this time to be commemorated,—that New Haven has furnished men, who have worthily acted their part, and left bright examples for the imitation of posterity. No military expedition ever excited such efforts in New England, or was attended with such strong hopes mingled with well grounded fears, as that sent against Louisbourg in 1745. On the capture of that fortress, the security

* 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. 218.—Sec. Series.

of the country from French ascendancy, and its consequent freedom, were justly supposed to depend. Of the several colonies invited to engage in this great enterprise, those of New England alone had the honor of achieving the conquest. The commander of the Connecticut sloop of war employed in conveying the troops of this colony to the scene of action, was David Wooster, of New Haven. By his skill and intrepidity, both on the passage, and after his arrival, he acquired great reputation, and gave an earnest of his subsequent eminence. In the northern campaign of 1755, and of several succeeding years, he distinguished himself as a military commander; and in the war of the revolution, he fell in battle, fighting for the liberties of his country.

Nathan Whiting of New Haven, in the campaign of 1755, led a regiment enlisted in this town and vicinity, to the Canadian frontier. He was in the detachment sent from fort Edward, by Sir William Johnson, against Baron Dieskau. In the unfortunate rencontre which followed, Col. Whiting, after the fall of Col. Williams his superior officer, took the command of the troops, now thrown into disorder; and by his skill and intrepidity effected a most difficult and successful retreat. In the campaigns of several succeeding years, he was esteemed, both by the British and Americans, an officer of uncommon merit. In Connecticut he acquired great popularity; and among other honorable marks of respect, he received the thanks of the legislature for his numerous and faithful services.

When the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies, was about coming to an open rupture, and the first continental congress assembled in Philadelphia, Roger Sherman, of New Haven, was deputed by the legislature of Connecticut, to be a member of that body. Among other proofs of the estimation in which he was held by that assembly of statesmen and patriots, this may be mentioned, that he was appointed on the committee to prepare the celebrated declaration of independence. He was one of the convention, which formed the constitution of the United States; was a member of the first house of representatives, and afterwards was elected to the senate; and thus bore an important part in organizing the government. No man in Connecticut, ever enjoyed the confidence of the people of the state more entirely, or for a longer period, than Roger Sherman. Where he doubted, who ventured to be positive? where he saw his way clear, who hesitated to follow? In the whole course of his public life, Roger Sherman never failed to leave in those with whom he had intercourse, an impression of deep sagacity, and stern integrity; and he bequeathed, as a public man, to those who should come after him, the character of a great, and what is much more rare, of an honest, politician.

If we look likewise to the commercial and economical interests of our own, and of other countries, who stands higher as a public benefactor, than our late fellow citizen, Eli Whitney? How large a part of the United States is indebted for all its prosperity, to his inventive genius? The commerce, the

business of the world, has been essentially modified and increased through the operation of his principal invention, the cotton-gin; and the substantial convenience and enjoyment of mankind have, by the same means, been extended and are extending, to a degree, which no man can calculate.

Another of our citizens, lately removed from us, and who by a long course of eminent public services, proved himself one of the benefactors of his age and country, deserves an honorable mention on the present occasion. You have, no doubt, all anticipated me in the name of James Hillhouse. Where have we seen more energy of action than in that man? more public spirit, or a greater readiness on any emergency, to make personal sacrifices? To pass by his various praise-worthy efforts of a more public and general character; the name of James Hillhouse, in what he accomplished for the ornament, the convenience, and the solid prosperity of our town, in all its departments, can never be separated from that of New Haven.

Perhaps it will be said, on this general review of the history of our city for the last two centuries, that our predecessors, in many of their plans and endeavors, are indeed deserving of praise; and that even the first colonists, in some respects, did well; but that we could have done better. The faults of the puritans, some may say, we could certainly have avoided; and their good deeds were so obviously according to the dictates of common sense, so clearly expedient, proper and right, that the authors of them are scarcely entitled to much credit; and that, in fact, their most commendable proceed-

ings are so counterbalanced by those of a questionable character, or which plainly deserve censure, that we shall, upon the whole, treat them most equitably and kindly, by suffering them to pass silently into forgetfulness.

It has been no part of my object, on this occasion, to hold up the first settlers of New Haven, and of New England, as spotless characters, and the proper subjects of indiscriminate commendation. The great outlines of their proceedings I have endeavored to draw truly and distinctly, that you may yourselves judge of their deserts, rather than to forestall opinion by general and unqualified panegyric. The puritans of New England laid the foundations of free communities, free in a sense, which the world had never known, or even imagined to be possible. Can any one deny this? or granting it, withhold the meed of applause? They devised and executed a plan of universal education, suited to their circumstances, and essential to the support of their social, civil, and religious institutions. Is there here any room for doubt? and if not, who can resist their claim to the gratitude of their posterity? They, from the first, both by precept and example, taught their descendants to be jealous of their rights, to guard their privileges with ever wakeful solicitude, and to maintain those principles in religion, government and morals, which form the only sure foundation of public prosperity. On what page of their history, do we find reason to question this? And if allowed, who will assert, that the memory of such men should be suffered to pass into oblivion? or be retained only

with cold indifference? Admit that they were too exclusive in their religion, that they were believers in witchcraft, and that their laws, were in some cases too severe and even sanguinary; it is still true, that they were in advance of their age; and, if their conduct is brought to the standard of their own time, that they must be acquitted. It will be urged, perhaps, that they were fanatics. But when, or where, did their fanaticism show itself? Do we ever find them relying on dreams, or immediate revelations? or appealing to an internal light, which afforded no external indications of wisdom? Of all men, they were the most remote from such vagaries.

But grant, that we could now do better than our pilgrim fathers,—and with their conduct for our guide, we ought certainly to do as well,—we have full opportunity still to show our ability and our benevolence, in providing for the good of those who shall come after us. Our country is yet in its infancy. America is still emphatically the new world. The present population of these United States is very inconsiderable, compared with that towards which it is rapidly approaching. Those, who one hundred years from this day, shall assemble here, for the same purpose for which we have come together, will find in what is now the territory of this Union, more than two hundred millions of inhabitants. They will look upon our present number, as we look upon the early colonists, as the mere germ of a future nation. What, I would ask, is to be the condition of our country, when every hill and valley, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, shall be covered with a dense population?

What new and clashing interests will exist? What new causes of harmony, union and peace? or of jealousy, discord and war? Who, in these respects, can predict the future fortunes of our country? Who can descry with distinctness, the condition of even the next generation? The elements of that political, commercial, physical and moral influence, which is operating so widely and powerfully for weal or woe, are too numerous and complicated to admit of being easily or satisfactorily combined, in calculating our national progress and destiny. We sometimes wonder, that the early emigrants to New England, appear to have conceived so imperfectly of the magnitude of the work, which they had begun; and that the future, to so great a degree, was veiled from their eyes. Perhaps, notwithstanding our greater proneness to speculate on the causes of national changes, and our efforts to scrutinize the designs of providence, we are groping in still thicker darkness; and the events of the two next centuries may be far more remote from our ken, than were those of the two last centuries from the view of our fathers.

But far from this occasion be all anticipations of evil. Our country has hitherto risen above disaster; and when most exposed to hazard, and apparently on the verge of ruin, it has seemed to defy danger, and triumph in success. We all have it in our power to contribute to its prosperity in times long after us. Never was a wider field open for human effort, in laying a broad and firm foundation for an immense civil and moral superstructure. Let all, who would improve on the system of our

ancestors, enter on their work. In the meantime, those who prefer the old paths, may continue to favor universal education; to diffuse among all classes of the community a knowledge of their rights and privileges, and cherish a disposition to defend them; to strengthen the feeling of obligation in all to perform their duties to God and man; and then leave the event to Him, who sees the end from the beginning, and who orders all things right.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

DR. TRUMBULL states incorrectly, that Gov. Eaton "was educated an East India merchant, and was sometime deputy governor of the company trading to the East Indies."* The true reason without doubt, of his mistake, has been pointed out by Mr. Savage, in his very valuable edition of Gov. Winthrop's Journal. He says, this "error arose probably from the appellation of *East country*, used by Mather, from the universal custom of England, for the regions bordering on the Baltic."† This editor is less successful in an attempt, on the same page, to correct what he supposes to be a mistake of Dr. Trumbull respecting the Rev. Samuel Eaton, brother of the Governor. Gov. Winthrop has recorded, that "another minister" besides Mr. Davenport, came to New England with Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins. This other minister, according to Dr. Trumbull, was the Rev. Samuel Eaton. On this Mr. Savage remarks: "The author [Dr. Trumbull] might have read in Mather, that Samuel Eaton died 9th January, 1665, at Denton in Lancashire." But there is no inconsistency in the fact, that Samuel Eaton died in England in 1665, and the fact, that he came to America in 1637. Indeed, Mather mentions his residence in this country.‡ The Rev. Samuel Eaton signed the New Haven "fundamental agreement;" and Gov. Eaton, in his will, refers to his "brother, Mr. Samuel Eaton, while he was resident in New England."

A few additional notices of Gov. Eaton, and his family, may not be out of place here. Gov. Eaton was twice married. His second wife was the widow of David Yale, Esq. and daughter of Dr. Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester. At the time of this marriage, Mrs. Eaton had three children, David Yale, Thomas Yale, and Ann Yale; to whom, says Mather, Mr. Eaton "became a most exemplary, liv-

* Hist. of Connect. Vol. I. Chap. xi.

† Vol. I. 228.

‡ Magnal. Book III. 213.

ing, [loving] and faithful father."* Edward Hopkins married Ann, and the three children came to New England with their mother. On the death of Gov. Eaton, his widow returned to England; and her two sons David and Thomas Yale, and her daughter, Hannah Eaton, returned with her. Gov. Hopkins and his wife had gone to England some time before. Elihu Yale, afterwards Governor of fort St. George in the East Indies, and Governor of the East India company, and from whom Yale College has its name, was about ten years old, when, with his father Thomas Yale, he left New Haven. A second Thomas Yale, most probably a son of the first Thomas Yale, remained in New Haven, where he died in 1683. From him, those of the name of Yale in New Haven and in other parts of the country, are supposed to be descended.

Gov. Eaton, in his will, names three children only; all without doubt, who were then living.† These three were Theophilus, Mary, and Hannah. Theophilus, a son by his first marriage, came to New England, but returned, and lived in Dublin. Mary was married to Valentine Hill, and removed to Piscataqua in New Hampshire. Hannah went to England, as above stated. Ann Eaton, widow of Gov. Eaton, died in London, 1659. Her daughter, Hannah Eaton, married William Jones, Esq. an English lawyer; and with her husband came to New Haven in 1660, where they occupied the former residence of Gov. Eaton. They sailed from England in the same ship with the regicides, Col Whalley and Col. Goffe; which circumstance probably had some influence in bringing the regicides to New Haven. Mr. Jones was chosen a magistrate in New Haven, in 1662, and Lieutenant Governor in 1664. He was afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut; and acquired great respectability and influence, both in the town and colony.

* Magnal. Book II. 27.

† Of Gov. Eaton's children, who died before him, his son Samuel was the most distinguished. He was born in London, 1620, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1649. In April, 1654, the people of New Haven were thrown into great agitation on hearing "that Mr. Samuel Eaton, son of our governor, is now sent for into the Bay, which if attended to, they feared they may be deprived, not only for the present, but for the future, of the helpfulness which they have hoped for from him; and considering the small number of first able helps here for the work of magistracy for the present, who also by age are wearing away," they offered him the place of magistrate; and to this station he was elected in May of the same year. He and his wife, died within two days of each other, June, 1655.

Governor Eaton died in New Haven, January 7th, 1658,* in the 67th year of his age. At the first General Court after his death, May 26th, 1658, it was voted to erect a monument to his memory. The record is in the following words. "This court calling to mind the good service done to this colony by our late Honorable Governor, did order, that a comely tomb, such as we are capable of, shall be made over his grave." The monument was a sandstone table, on which was this inscription :—

"THEOPHILUS EATON, Esq. Gov.

Deceased Jan. 7th, 1657. [8]

Eaton so fam'd, so wise, so meek, so just,
The Phœnix of our world, here hides his dust,
This name forget New England never must."

Gov. Jones died in New Haven, 17th October, 1706, aged 82, and Hannah Jones, 1st May, 1707, aged 74. They were buried, one on the right, and the other on the left, of Gov. Eaton; and to the former inscription, the following was added :—

"T'attend you, Sir, under these framed stones,
Are come your honor'd son and daughter Jones,
On each hand to repose their wearied bones."

This notable triplet, as Dr. Dwight once told me, was the production of the Rev. James Pierpont. The lines on Gov. Eaton must have come under the inspection of Mr. Davenport; but whether he was the author of them, can be conjectured only. The stone has been removed to the new burying ground, and the old inscriptions erased, to the regret of the lovers of genuine antiquity. The inscription on Gov. Eaton has been re-engraved. The descendants of Gov. Jones are numerous.

NOTE B.

It is recorded in Gov. Winthrop's Journal, that on the 30th of March, 1638, the colony for Quinnipiac left Boston. This date is given without any qualification; and no reason appears for questioning its correctness. Dr. Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut,

* According to the old mode of dating, this was in 1657, and Dr. Trumbull has so stated it; probably taking the year from the inscription on the monument. The time of his death is plain from the records. He held several courts in 1657; the last, in October of that year.

says, that "on the 30th of March, 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, Mr. Samuel Eaton, and Theophilus Eaton, Esq., with the people of their company, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiac. In about a fortnight, they arrived at their desired port. On the 18th of April, they kept their first sabbath in the place. The people assembled under a large spreading oak, and Mr. Davenport preached to them from Matthew vi. 1. He insisted on the temptations of the wilderness, made such observations, and gave such directions and exhortations as were pertinent to the then present state of his hearers. He left this remark, that he "enjoyed a good day."*

On what authority Dr. Trumbull gave this account, except as to the day when the expedition left Boston, does not appear. The day of sailing may have been taken from Winthrop. But there is nothing in the colony records, Winthrop's Journal, Morton's Memorial, Hubbard's History of New England, or any similar work which I have examined, respecting the duration of the voyage, or the time of the arrival of the colonists at their place of destination. That Dr. Trumbull relied in this part of his narrative on some written document, may be inferred from its particularity, as it is too minute in its statements for mere tradition, and from what he says of Mr. Davenport, that "he left the remark, that he enjoyed a good day." The words "he left the remark," indicate that it was in some diary, or memorandum. Dr. Trumbull collected most of the materials for the first volume of his history, as early as 1774, and was much aided in his undertaking by the first Gov. Trumbull, who possessed numerous documents to illustrate the early history of Connecticut. There is no improbability, therefore, in the supposition, that Dr. Trumbull had means of exact information on this subject, which are now unknown. He says likewise, in the preface to his history, "that very little has been taken on tradition;" and wherever he relates any thing on the ground of tradition, he appears careful to state the fact. But on whatever authority Dr. Trumbull relied, it cannot be true, that the colonists, as he says, "kept their first sabbath," in Quinnipiac on the 18th of April; as the 18th of April, 1638, was Wednesday. If they were about a fortnight on the voyage, this "first sabbath" must have been either the 15th or the 22d day of the month. If a memorandum of the day was made at the time, as is not improbable, in transcribing, 15 might easily be mistaken for 18, much more

* Hist. of Connect. Vol. I. Chap. vi.

easily than 22 would be mistaken for this number; and the same is true, if the information came down by tradition. Another solution of this difficulty is, and perhaps as probable as any, that 18 is a typographical error for 15. But that the 15th was really the day, is pretty plainly indicated by the language, that the colonists were "about a fortnight" on their voyage. The 30th of March, 1638, was Friday; a fortnight from this time was the 13th of April. If the expedition arrived on the 12th, 13th, or 14th of the month, the phrase "about a fortnight," as commonly used, would be very naturally employed to designate the time. If the arrival was so late as the next week, in marking the time, instead of "about a fortnight," it would rather be said, that they were more than a fortnight, or nearly three weeks, on their passage. These considerations do not lead to an infallible conclusion, but the balance of probabilities clearly inclines to the 15th of April, 1638, as the "first sabbath" kept in this town by the original settlers. As it appears about equally probable, that the colony arrived on the 12th, 13th, or 14th of the month, it was impossible to select the day of arrival, as the time to celebrate the planting of the colony. The assembling on the 15th, it was thought might be taken without much chance of error, as the first act of the whole body of the colonists, and the time, in which European civilization commenced in Quinnipiac.

As ten days are allowed for the difference of style in the seventeenth century, the 15th of April, 1638, corresponds to the 25th of the same month, according to our present mode of reckoning.

There is a common error in changing dates of the seventeenth century to the mode of reckoning now in use. Thus, in fixing the day, in some places, for celebrating the second centennial anniversary, eleven days, and in other places, twelve days have been added to the old date. No one, who will look at the reason of the thing, can doubt, that ten days is the real difference. The ground of this conclusion, may be exhibited in the following popular manner. The year of the seasons may be taken at 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 50 seconds. This multiplied by 200, gives 73048 days, leaving out the fraction of a day. From the 15th of April, 1638, to the 15th of April, 1838, 200 years of 365 days, 6 hours have been reckoned; that is, 73050, except, that in 1752, when the style was altered, eleven days were omitted; and in 1800 one day was omitted, according to the rule now observed. The actual time, therefore, allowed from April 15th, 1638, to April 15th, 1838, is 73038 days.

But this is ten days less than 200 years, as appears above. Adding, therefore, ten days to the 15th of April, 1838, the day of the close of the two hundredth year from the 15th of April, old style, 1638, is obtained.

As the year of the seasons is less, than the common civil year, or 365 days, 6 hours, it is obvious, that the farther we go back, the less difference there will be in the two modes of computing time; till we arrive at the time of the Council of Nice, when the two modes will coincide, or no addition will be required to be made to old style. Or, if the present rule of regulating the calendar had been adopted at the time of the Council of Nice, what was called the 15th of April, 1638, would have been the 25th of the same month and year.

There appears to be another error in the extract above from Dr. Trumbull, which is probably typographical; and which may not improperly be noticed here. He says that Mr. Davenport preached from Matthew vi. 1, and "insisted on the temptations of the wilderness." The verse referred to is, "Take heed, that you do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your father, which is in heaven." But how this should lead to a discourse on the temptations of the wilderness, is not obvious. The probability is, that instead of vi. we should read iv.; and Matt. iv. 1, is, "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." The object of the preacher might be to show, that though his hearers were in the wilderness of America, temptations still beset them. Others say, that the text of Mr. Davenport was Matt. iii. 1, which is, "In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea." We have here, indeed, a wilderness, but there is no distinct reference to temptation.

NOTE C.

THE only authority, which, it is believed, can be found, on which a charge of injustice towards the Indians in the New Haven colony, can be founded, is "The General History of Connecticut," by Dr. Samuel Peters. This author says—"Exact in tything mint and anise, the furies of New Haven for once affected the weightier matters of justice. They had no title to the land: they applied to Quin-nipog, the sachem, for a deed or grant of it. The sachem refused to give the lands of his ancestors to strangers. The settlers had

teeming inventions, and immediately voted themselves to be the *children of God*, and that *the wilderness in the utmost parts of the earth*, was given to them. This vote became a law forever after. It is true, Davenport endeavored to *christianize* Quinnipiog, but in vain : however, he *converted* Sunksquaw, one of his subjects, by presents and great promises ; and then Sunksquaw betrayed his master, and the settlers killed him. This assassination of Quinnipiog brought on a war between the English and Indians, which never ended by treaty of peace. The Indians, having only bows and arrows, were driven back into the woods ; whilst the English with their swords and guns, kept possession of the country. But conscious of their want of title to it, they voted Sunksquaw to be Sachem, and that whoever disputed his authority should suffer death. Sunksquaw, in return, assigned to the English those lands, of which they had made him Sachem. Lo ! here is all the title the settlers of the Dominion of New Haven, ever obtained.”* The only apology for quoting this passage, and others like it, from such an author, is, that his representations seem to have gained, in some instances, a partial credit. But the story here told is an entire fabrication ; there being no foundation whatever for it in fact. The Indian deed to the English, of the territory of Quinnipiac, is on record ; and the conveyance was made by eight Sachems, one of whom was a female. No mention is made in the records, or in any other writings, before this History by Peters was published, of any such Sachem as Quinnipiog, or Sunksquaw, or of any contest with the Indians. All the records, traditions, and the accounts published in the other colonies, which have any relation to the transactions of the first settlers of New Haven with the natives, are irreconcilable with this story. It is the sheer production of malice and resentment, and made up in utter disregard of truth. The same author says, that Mr. Davenport and others set up a “heavenly title” to the lands of the Indians ; and thus “syllogistically stated it”—“*The Heathen are driven out, and we have their lands in possession ; they were numerous, and we but a few ; therefore the Lord hath done this great work, to give his beloved rest.*”† This again has not the slightest support from fact. That Mr. Davenport, and the other early puritan ministers in Connecticut and New Haven, considered the Indians the rightful owners of the soil, and maintained that lands should be bought of them by

* 65.

† 46.

fair purchase, is proved by all the evidence which the case admits of, or requires. Peters likewise makes Mr. Davenport's "tyrannical conduct"* one of the causes of the war with the Pequods, and the destruction of Sassacus. The Pequod war, however, was nearly terminated, before Mr. Davenport arrived in America; and ended the summer before he came to Quinnipiac. All the other representations, by the same writer, respecting the treatment of the Indians by the English, are equally destitute of truth. Another statement of Peters, connected in some measure with the foregoing, is the following. "The first colonizers of Connecticut—by their iniquitous art of making Sachems, have entailed law-suits without end on their posterity; for there is not one foot of land in the whole province, which is not covered by ten deeds granted by ten different nominal Sachems to ten different persons; and what aggravates the misfortune, the courts of justice differ every session concerning the true Sachem; so that what the plaintiff recovers at a hearing before one jury, he loses upon a re-hearing before another."†

Perhaps, if the whole Union were examined for this purpose, no state would be found where so little litigation has existed respecting original land-titles, as in Connecticut. No individual could purchase land of the Indians without permission of the magistrates. Deeds also were always recorded in public offices, where they were open to the inspection of every one. No such fraudulent conveyances as described above, could have existed. This whole representation is a fiction of the historian.‡

NOTE D.

IN the harbor of New Haven, great alterations have been produced by the accumulation of earth in the inlets, chiefly by the action of the small streams. The low grounds at the southwest of George street, two hundred years ago, were covered so deep with water, that such vessels as were used for transporting the colony, lay there without difficulty; and even within eighty years, where the canal now passes towards the harbor, large sail-boats came with ease, as high as Chapel street. But these obstructions to a ready access from

* 55.

† 43.

‡ The quotations from this author are made from the edition of his History, published in New Haven in 1829. For the general character of the work, see Note G.

the town to navigable water, which have been gradually formed, though to be regretted, have yet left the actual site of the town the most eligible, which could be chosen on the shores of the New Haven bay.

NOTE E.

REFERENCE is here made to a treatise by Mr. Davenport, entitled, "*A discourse about civil government in a new plantation, whose design is religion*,"—"in the title page whereof," says Mather,* "the name of Mr. Cotton, is, by mistake, put for that of Mr. Davenport." The copy of this curious and valuable pamphlet, which I have had the opportunity of consulting, belongs to the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

NOTE F.

THE names of the seven men, who have been usually called the "seven pillars," are placed in the colony records in the following order: "Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Robert Newman, Mr. Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson and Jeremy Dixon."

NOTE G.

THE work, which more than any other, has given currency to various misrepresentations respecting the New Haven colony, is that commonly known as "Peters's History of Connecticut." The author, Dr. Samuel Peters, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, was an episcopal missionary at Hebron in Connecticut. As he was very active in asserting the royal claims, he became obnoxious to the patriots of the day. He was threatened by a mob; though it is believed, no personal violence was done him. About 1774 he went to England, highly exasperated against his country, and especially against his native state, Connecticut. He employed himself, while the war continued, in reviling the colonists; and in 1781 published in London without his name, what he called "A general History of Connecticut, from its first settlement under George Fenwick, Esq., to its latest period of amity with Great Britain; including a

* Book III. 56.

description of the country, and many curious and interesting anecdotes." When this work first appeared, its extravagances and falsehoods were so apparent and gross, that any attempt to contradict or expose them, was considered unnecessary and superfluous. The work was evidently designed chiefly, to render the people of Connecticut odious and despicable abroad ;—but its abuse was so outrageous, and its statements so opposed to the most notorious facts, that even with respect to foreigners, it was thought to need no refutation. There were, however, in Connecticut, at the time this pretended History appeared, individuals who sympathized strongly with its author. They had cherished the same antipathies and resentments as Peters himself; and as the English interest declined in the United States, they were glad to seize even upon such support, as this miserable farrago afforded them. Its stories were to their taste; and they repeated them so often, as apparently to create in themselves a sort of belief in the truth of some of them. The credit, however, acquired by this work was never extensive; and its real character has been generally too well understood to call for direct animadversion. Dr. Trumbull once told me, in reply to the question, why in his History of Connecticut, he had made no allusion to this work of Dr. Peters,—that he had considered a reference to it as wholly unnecessary; since any one, on very slight examination, would see that it was refuted in so many of its statements by indubitable public documents, that it could gain no credit. He said, that he had been well acquainted with Dr. Peters from very early life,* that they were contemporaries in college,† and that an occasional intercourse between them had been maintained, till Dr. Peters went to England in 1774. He added, that of all men, with whom he had ever been acquainted, Dr. Peters, he had thought, from his first knowledge of him, the least to be depended upon as to any matter of fact; especially "in story-telling." A more particular notice of this "History of Connecticut" might perhaps be omitted here; but it has been thought best to point out a few of its errors; as by the progress of time, the real character of the work is now less perfectly understood, than when it was first published.

The account which the author gives of the first settlement of Connecticut, is filled with mistakes. He says, that "in 1634, the first

* I think he stated that they were both natives of Hebron.

† Dr. Peters graduated at Yale College in 1757, Dr. Trumbull in 1759.

part of English adventurers arrived in Connecticut from England, under the conduct of George Fenwick, Esq., and the Rev. Thomas Peters, and established themselves at the mouth of the river Connecticut; where they built a town which they called Saybrook, a church and a fort.* The fort at Saybrook, however, was begun near the close of the year 1635, under the direction of John Winthrop, Esq. George Fenwick first arrived in America in 1639, and the Rev. Thomas Peters with him. Peters staid but about three years in the country, and much of this time he spent at Pequod, or New London. It is related likewise in this history, that "Thomas Peters established a school in Saybrook, which his children had the satisfaction to see become a college, denominated Yale College."—"At his death, which did not happen till after the restoration of Charles II, he bequeathed his library to the school above mentioned."† There is not the slightest evidence, that there was any early school in Saybrook, higher than a common school; or any school whatever, to which the Rev. Thomas Peters left a library. As to Yale College, it was founded and incorporated without any reference to Saybrook; and it owed its origin in no sense, to any school before existing there, or any where else. This story was probably told to give in England the credit of beginning the college to one of the name of Peters. This same author says, that Connecticut on the arrival of the English, had "three kings, viz. Connecticote, Quinnipiog and Sassacus, of whom Connecticote was Emperor, or king of kings."‡ It has been stated above in Note C, that no such Sachem as Quinnipiog ever existed. As little evidence is there, that there ever was any such "king of kings" as Connecticote. Peters adds,—“The religious institutions of Hooker at Hartford, . . . extended to the great Connecticote himself. The Sachem did not like his new neighbors; he refused to give or sell any land to them; but told them, that as they came to trade, and to spread the christian religion among his subjects, which Mr. Hooker defined to consist only in peace, love and justice, he had no objection to their building wigwams, planting corn, and hunting on his lands. The wisdom and steady temper of this great Sachem, and the vast number of subjects at his command, made Haynes and Hooker cautious in their conduct.” “Having converted over to the christian faith some few Indians, among whom was Joshua, an ambitious captain under the great Sachem Connecticote,

* 31.

† 57.

‡ 45.

Hooker, Huet, Smith and others, hereby found means to spread the *gospel* into every Indian town, and, to the eternal infamy of christian policy, those renowned, pious fathers of this new colony, with the gospel, spread the small pox. This distemper raged in every corner; it swept away the great Sachem Connecticote, and laid waste his ancient kingdom. Hereupon, Haynes and his assembly proclaimed Joshua, Sachem; and such as did not acknowledge his Sachemic power, were compelled to suffer death, or fly the dominion. Thus in three years time, by the gospel and fanatic policy, was destroyed Connecticote, and laid waste his ancient kingdom.”* All this is gross and palpable falsehood. There is no evidence, from any record or history preceding this work of Peters, that any part of this story is true. On the contrary, all existing records and early histories of the transactions of Gov. Haynes and Mr. Hooker with the Indians, are wholly inconsistent with this representation.

An author who could coolly fabricate such slander, has no claim to be believed in any statements, on any subject. A farther notice of the work, therefore, might be dispensed with; but a reference to a few more passages will satisfy, it is believed, the most incredulous, that no injustice has been done Dr. Peters, in what has now been said of his history. His description of the country, and anecdotes of towns and individuals, are as extravagant as they are absurd and silly. Thus, in his account of Connecticut river, he says, that about two hundred miles from the Sound, the water passes through a chasm, formed by “two shelving mountains of solid rock,” and “is consolidated, without frost, by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration, that an iron crow floats smoothly down its current; here iron, lead, and cork, have one common weight: here, steady as time, and harder than marble, the stream passes irresistible, if not swift as lightning:—the electric fire rends trees in pieces with no greater ease, than does this mighty water.”† Yet on this water, “harder than marble,” a squaw, he informs his readers, passed through this chasm, in a canoe. The author describes a pond in the town of Windham, as “three miles square;” which, in fact, is about half a mile in length, and varying in breadth, from ten to fifty or sixty rods. New Haven, he says, is built on a plain, which is “divided into three hundred squares, of the size of Bloomsbury-square, with streets twenty yards

* 59.

† 110.

wide between each division. Forty of these squares are already built upon, having houses of brick and stone on each front, above five yards asunder: every house with a garden, that produces vegetables sufficient for the family. Two hundred houses are annually erected."* New Haven, at the time this was written, had probably not more than four hundred and twenty houses, ten or twelve of which may have been of brick or stone.

One great object of this history is, to detail the sufferings of the episcopal missionaries, which, as the author represents, they endured for their loyalty. One story of this kind is the following.

"In July, 1776, the congress having declared the independency of America, and ordered the commonwealth to be prayed for, instead of the king and royal family, all the loyal episcopal churches north of the Delaware, were shut up; except those immediately under the protection of the British army, and one at Newtown in Connecticut, of which last the Rev. Mr. John Beach was the Rector; whose gray hairs adorned with loyal and christian virtues, overcame even the madness of the Sober Dissenters. This faithful disciple disregarded the congressional mandate, and praying for the king as usual, they pulled him out of his desk, put a rope about his neck, and drew him across Osootonoc river, at the tail of a boat, *to cool his loyal zeal*, as they called it; after which the old *Confessor* was permitted to depart, though not without a prohibition to pray longer for the king. But his loyal zeal was insuperable. He went to church, and prayed again for the king; upon which the Sober Dissenters again seized him, and resolved upon cutting out his tongue; when the heroic veteran said, if my blood must be shed, let it not be done in the house of God. The pious mob then dragged him out of the church, laid his neck on a block, and swore they would cut off his head," &c.† This whole story is without any foundation in truth. No such treatment of Mr. Beach ever occurred. The episcopal clergy in Connecticut, in the revolution, were believed to be honest in their loyalty; and where they took no active part in resisting the popular measures, they were not molested. If such men as Mr. Beach, Dr. Mansfield, Mr. Leaming, and others mentioned by Peters, had suffered abuse, the most zealous patriots would have acted in their defense.

There is one more story, which, from its relation to New Haven, may be thought to merit some attention. It is this. "An English

* 147.

† 300.

gentleman," says Peters, "of the name of Grigson, coming in his travels to New Haven, about the year 1644, was greatly pleased with its pleasant situation ; and after purchasing a large settlement, sent to London for his wife and family. But before their arrival, he found that a charming situation, without the blessing of civil and religious liberty, would not render him and his family happy : he resolved, therefore, to quit the country, and return to England, as soon as his family should arrive, and accordingly advertised his property for sale ; when lo ! agreeable to one of the Blue Laws, no one would buy, because he had not, and could not, obtain liberty of the select-men to sell it. The patriotic virtue of the select-men thus becoming an insurmountable bar to the sale of his New Haven estate, Mr. Grigson made his will, and bequeathed part of his lands towards the support of an episcopal clergyman, who should reside in that town, and the residue to his own heirs. Having deposited his will in the hands of a friend, he set sail with his family for England, but died on the passage. This friend proved the will, and had it recorded, but died also soon after. The record was dexterously concealed by glueing two leaves together ; and, after some years, the select-men sold the whole estate to pay taxes ; though the rent of Mr. Grigson's house alone, in one year, would pay the taxes for ten. Some persons, hardly enough to exclaim against this glaring injustice, were soon silenced, and expelled the town. In 1750, an episcopal clergyman was settled in New Haven ; and having been informed of Grigson's will, applied to the town clerk for a copy, who told him, there was no such will on record, and withal refused him the liberty of searching. In 1768, Peter Harrison, Esq. from Nottinghamshire, in England, the King's collector of New Haven, claimed his right of searching public records ; and being a stranger, and not supposed to have any knowledge of Grigson's will, obtained his demand. The alphabet contained Grigson's name, and referred to a page, which was not to be found in the book. Mr. Harrison supposed it to have been torn out ; but, on closer examination, discovered one leaf much thicker than the others. He put a corner of the thick leaf in his mouth, and soon found it was composed of two leaves, which with much difficulty having separated, he found Grigson's will ! To make sure of the work, he took a copy of it himself, and then called the clerk to draw and attest another, which was done. Thus furnished, Mr. Harrison instantly applied to the select-men, and demanded a surrender of the land, which belonged to the church, but which they as

promptly refused; whereupon Mr. Harrison took out writs of ejectment against the possessors. As might be expected, Mr. Harrison, from a good man, became in ten days the worst man in the world; but, being a generous and brave Englishman, he valued not their clamors and curses, though they terrified the gentlemen of the law. Harrison was obliged to be his own lawyer, and boldly declared he expected to lose his cause in New England; but after that, he would appeal, and try it at his own expense in England, where justice reigned. The good people, knowing Harrison did not get his bread by their votes, and that they could not baffle him, resigned the lands to the church, on that gentleman's own terms."*

Now for the facts. Thomas Gregson was one of the company of Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport, and came with them to America in 1637. He was among the first planters in New Haven in 1638, was very early elected a magistrate; and what shows the estimation in which he was held, he was appointed to act with Gov. Eaton as a commissioner in 1643, in forming a union of the New England colonies. In January, 1647, Mr. Gregson sailed for England; not leaving New Haven in disgust, but with a commission to procure a charter for the colony, if possible, and "from the parliament." That such a man, who was one of the leading puritans in New England, should have left behind him a will, by which part of his property was to be applied, in the manner stated by Peters, is a story which, on the face of it, is utterly incredible. The same thing might as easily be believed of Gov. Eaton, or Mr. Davenport. But no such will was left; and of course it was never concealed, or found. If the holders of the property were ejected in 1768, the records of some court ought to show the fact. But no such record exists; and the whole story, so circumstantially told, is a gratuitous falsehood.

It seemed the more necessary to remark on the subject of this will, as in the New Haven edition of Peters's History, published in 1829, the editor says in the preface, "It certainly contains some facts, such as the history of Grigson's will and some others, which cannot be gainsaid; as they have happened within the recollection of many persons now living." Who was the author of this preface, I know not. That Dr. Peters himself, who was in New Haven a few years before it appeared, left this declaration as his last legacy to posterity, is one among several conjectures on this subject, which

* 150.

might be made. But the assertion, that there were many persons living in New Haven, in 1829, within whose recollection it happened,—a recollection extending through one hundred and eighty five years,—that Thomas Gregson made a will soon after 1644, and that he left it with a friend, when there is no record evidence that such a will was ever made or left; that he should have been induced to make this will by the tyrannical conduct of the select-men of New Haven, when there is the best historical proof, that no such functionaries as select-men existed in the colony; that this will should have been found in 1768, and the property resigned to the church, when there is no record that any such will ever was found, or that the property is, or ever was, held by any person or persons, under such will, is in admirable keeping with the history which it precedes.

The Rev. Jonathan Arnold, of New Haven, episcopal missionary, brought from London a deed, dated March 26th, 1736, executed by William Gregson, who describes himself as great grandson of Thomas Gregson; by which instrument, the said William Gregson conveyed all his interest in a lot of land, which belonged to his ancestor, to Mr. Arnold in trust, for the use, on certain conditions, of an episcopal society, which should be formed in New Haven. But the land was never held by this deed. Though this conveyance by William Gregson is not alluded to by Peters, it may be proper to add, that the pages of the public records, where the deed may be found,* have [June 6th, 1838] as little the appearance, as any other part of the volume, of ever having had any adhesive substance applied to them.

On examining the more prominent statements of Peters, not one has been found, which is not either false, or so deformed by exaggerations and perversions, as to be essentially erroneous. To prove a truth upon the leading portions of his history, would be, it is believed, an impossible task.

NOTE H.

MR. DAVENPORT'S efforts in favor of education in New Haven, appear throughout the colonial records. His design was, to have first, common schools, then, grammar schools, and finally a college. Common schools were immediately begun. By a donation of Gov. Hopkins, obtained chiefly through the influence of Mr. Davenport,

* Vol. X. 520.

a grammar school was established; and a foundation for a college was laid by a grant from the town of New Haven. No improvement has been made on this original plan by Mr. Davenport; and to this day, it has never, so far as it respects grammar schools, been fully executed. As a specimen of the early proceedings on this subject, an extract follows from the record of "a town meeting, held in New Haven, February 7th, 1667" [8].

"Mr. John Davenport, senior, came into the meeting, and desired to speak something concerning the school; and first propounded to the town, whether they would send their children to the school, to be taught for the fitting them for the service of God, in church and commonwealth. If they would, then, he said, that the grant of that part of Mr. Hopkins his estate, formerly made to this town, stands good; but if not, then it is void; because it attains not the end of the donor. Therefore, he desired they would express themselves. Upon which Roger Alling declared his purpose of bringing up one of his sons to learning; also Henry Glover one of Mr. William Russell's, John Winston, Mr. Hodshon, Thomas Trowbridge, David Atwater, Thomas Meeks [Mix]; and Mr. Augur said that he intended to send for a kinsman from England. Mr. Samuel Street declared, that there were eight at present in Latin, and three more would come in summer, and two more before next winter. Upon which Mr. Davenport seemed to be satisfied; but yet declared, that he must always reserve a negative voice, that nothing be done contrary to the true intent of the donor, and it [the donation] be improved only for that use, and, therefore, while it can be so improved here, it shall be settled here. But if New Haven will neglect their own good herein, he must improve it elsewhere, unto that end it may answer the will of the dead. His desire was, that a farm may be purchased, that the revenues of it may ease the town; and therefore propounded, that if any knew of any farm to be purchased, they would acquaint the committee with it; and then desired to know, whether the town would grant this to be recorded, with this condition. The town fell into some debate about it, and so nothing was done further at this time."

What was accomplished at this town meeting went beyond mere declarations. There was action as well as profession. James Alling, son of Roger Alling, was graduated at Harvard College, 1679. James Alling was a congregational minister in Salisbury, Massachusetts. His father, Roger Alling, was one of the signers of the "fundamental agreement."

Noadiah Russell, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1681, was son of William Russell, and grandson of James Russell, one of the first planters. Mr. Glover was named guardian of Noadiah Russell, in the will of his father, William Russell. Noadiah Russell was minister of Middletown, and was a man of great respectability and influence.

Nathaniel Hodson, whose name appears in the Harvard Catalogue, as one of the class of 1693, was the son of John Hodson or Hodgson, merchant, of New Haven. The will of John Hodson is dated July, 1690, and in it, provision is made for the college expenses of his son Nathaniel. Of the subsequent history of Nathaniel Hodson, I am ignorant.

Stephen Mix, minister of Wethersfield, Connecticut, was graduated at Harvard College, 1690, and was son of Thomas Mix of New Haven. The Rev. Stephen Mix was one of the most able of the Congregational ministers of his time.

The advantage to the colony from this single effort in favor of liberal education, cannot easily be estimated. The reason that so many belonging to New Haven, were educated at Harvard before the year 1700, is found chiefly in the zeal and widely extended influence of Mr. Davenport. To make a complete catalogue of these students is difficult; most of their names however are probably contained in the following list. Besides the four just mentioned, and Samuel Eaton referred to in Note A, who was of the class of 1649, Isaac Allerton, a graduate of 1650, was the son of Isaac Allerton of New Haven. Isaac Allerton, senior, came to Plymouth in the May-Flower in 1620. He removed to New Haven soon after the planting of the colony, where he continued till his death, which took place early in the year 1659. He names his son Isaac in his will. That this Isaac Allerton of New Haven is the same who was at Plymouth, is evident from the circumstance, that in his will, he refers to his brother Brewster; and it appears from Morton's Memorial, that Isaac Allerton of Plymouth married a daughter of Elder Brewster.*

Michael Wigglesworth, of the class of 1651, and minister of Malden, Massachusetts, was son of Edward Wigglesworth, one of the company of Gov. Eaton and Mr. Davenport. Edward Wigglesworth died in New Haven, 1654. In his will, mention is made of his son Michael.

* Morton by Davis, 221.

John Glover of the class of 1651, was probably the son of Henry Glover, mentioned above, as the guardian of Noadiah Russell.

Samuel Cheever, a graduate of the class of 1659, was son of Ezekiel Cheever of New Haven. Ezekiel Cheever was one of those who signed the "fundamental agreement" in 1639. He was the New Haven school-master, till about the year 1650, when he removed to Massachusetts. His son, Samuel Cheever, was minister at Marblehead, where he died 1724, aged 85.

Compensantius [Recompense] Osborn, of the class of 1661, was probably the son of Thomas Osborn, one of the original New Haven planters. The son taught a school in New Haven the year after he graduated. Thomas Osborn and this son removed to East Hampton, Long Island.

Samuel Street of the class of 1664 was son of the Rev. Nicholas Street, teacher of the church of New Haven. Samuel Street was minister at Wallingford.

John Harriman, who was graduated 1667, was the son of John Harriman of New Haven. He taught for several years the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, and was the first minister of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

John Davenport, of the class of 1687, was a grandson of John Davenport of New Haven. His father's name was John, and he was born about the time the family removed to Boston. He taught in the Grammar School in New Haven several years after his graduation, and was minister at Stamford.

Samuel Mansfield, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1690, was son of Moses Mansfield of New Haven. He taught in the Hopkins Grammar School several years, and then went into the West India trade. He died in 1701.

Joseph Moss, a graduate of Harvard, 1699, was grandson of John Moss, one of the first planters of New Haven. Joseph Moss was likewise an instructor in the Grammar School, and afterwards minister of Derby. No clergyman in his time had a higher reputation in Connecticut, than Mr. Moss.

Of the graduates of Harvard College, from its foundation to the year 1700, as many as one in thirty, at least, were from the town of New Haven. When it is considered, that so late as the year 1700, the number of inhabitants in New Haven, could have very little, if at all, exceeded five hundred, this fact deserves notice. The explanation is found in the exertions of Mr. Davenport, which continued

to produce their effect long after his death. Indeed, his influence in favor of liberal education has never ceased; but commencing in the infancy of the colony, has with the progress of time, and the increase of population, been more and more strengthened, and more widely diffused.

In confirmation of the statement on page 43, as to the extent to which common school education has been carried in Connecticut, I would add, that a gentleman, who for half a century, has been as extensively conversant in the courts of the State, and in the business of public offices, as any other, lately informed me, that he had never met in the course of his business, with a native of Connecticut, who could not read; and with but two, who could not write. The late Judge Reeve of Litchfield, after forty years' experience in the courts of Connecticut, remarked, that in his business, he had met with three natives of the State who could not write; but with no one who could not read.

NOTE I.

As at the time of the planting of the Connecticut and New Haven colonies, all were in religious profession, congregationalists; there was no reference in the laws for the support of ministers, to those who should dissent from the common faith. When the commissioners of Charles II., visited Connecticut in 1665, they say in their narrative, that the colony of Connecticut "will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister."* They could not mean by this, that there was any direct provision in the laws of Connecticut, at that time, to this effect; but the commissioners were probably assured, that, whenever any in the colony should desire to adopt in their worship, the ritual of the English church, they would not be disturbed; and that the laws would be changed in conformity with such a new state of things. There was no Episcopal church erected in Connecticut till about the year 1723, in Stratford; though divine service had been occasionally performed, according to the forms of the Church of England, in the same town, for several years before.

In 1727 it was enacted, that "if it so happen, that there be a society of the church of England, where there is a person in orders ac-

* Hutch. Coll. 412.

cording to the canons of the church of England, settled and abiding among them, and performing divine service, so near to any person that hath declared himself of the church of England, that he can conveniently, and doth attend the public worship there," whatever tax he shall pay for the support of religion shall be delivered "unto the minister of the church of England," etc. Those who conformed to the church of England were at the same time authorized to tax themselves for the support of their clergy, and were "excused from paying any taxes for building meeting houses," etc. In 1729, the Quakers, a very few of which sect lived on the borders of Rhode Island, were exempted, on certain conditions, from paying taxes for the support of the congregational ministers, and for building meeting houses; and the same year, the Baptists, who had two small congregations in the county of New London, received the same indulgence. At this time there were in Connecticut, but two or three congregations of Episcopalians, and two of Baptists, all of which were small, and no congregation of Quakers. All the liberty was granted them, which, it was supposed they needed, or which was thought consistent with the legal support of the congregational clergy. That this relaxation in the laws should have been made, so soon after their dissent assumed a regular form, and probably on their first application to the legislature for relief, has not been a very common occurrence in religious establishments; and is proof that there prevailed in Connecticut at the time, no disposition to persecute or oppress the new sects. It is true, that the Episcopal missionaries complained, that they were not in every case very cordially received; and that the Congregational ministers warned the people against attending on their ministrations; all which is without doubt true. That these ministers did not show on all occasions the meekness, which became them; that they did not take the missionaries by the hand, and aid them in their labors; that laymen, from over-heated zeal, were sometimes chargeable with indiscretions, especially as the missionaries themselves did not always use the most guarded language, can be admitted on slight proof. But the real sense of the community, on this subject, is not to be collected from the proceedings of individuals, acting under strong excitement, or misapprehension, but from the laws; and these as generally executed.

What the Congregational ministers and churches most complained of, was, that New England was represented in the parent country, as destitute to a great extent of religious instruction; whereas they

maintained, that no part of the empire was better supplied with competent religious teachers. They affirmed, that from the first settlement of the country, the greatest efforts had been made to secure a well informed clergy ; and that what the king's commissioners reported in 1665, that, in Connecticut, the people had "a scholar to their minister in every town or village," was, in far the greater part of New England, still true. That a clergy more devoted to their proper duties, was any where to be found, they were slow to admit.

A source of ill feeling, on both sides, existed in the difficulty, which sometimes occurred, in collecting ecclesiastical taxes. A meeting house was to be built, or other unusual expense was incurred by a Congregational society ; and some, who were opposed to the proceeding, would declare themselves Episcopalians or Baptists ; and clam, that they ought to be exempted from paying the new tax. On the other hand, it was maintained, that these dissidents should pay all dues to the time of their conversion to the new faith. The Episcopalian would plead unwillingness, and the Baptist conscience ; but the money was collected according to law, and this was called persecution. It is from cases of this kind, which were never very numerous, that reports of religious oppression in Connecticut have arisen. The law of 1727 was modified by several successive acts of the legislature ; every change being intended to make a separation from the Congregational churches more easy to those, who wished to leave them.

These dissensions, if they may be called such, affected but a small part of the community ; and were of short continuance in any one place. The congregational and episcopal clergy, from the first, often maintained a familiar intercourse with each other, and showed on various occasions, a mutual respect. A large portion of the state knew little or nothing of any controversy of different sects. At the beginning of the revolution, the baptists had but few congregations, and those mostly in one county. The episcopal churches were chiefly in the counties of Fairfield and New Haven. All who had separated from the congregationalists, were, at that time, but a small fraction of the whole population.

When the subject of dissent first assumed any practical importance in Connecticut, there were two opinions entertained as to the true course to be adopted. Some were for supporting a proper ecclesiastical establishment. They did not object to the establishment in England ; and, as all there paid for the support of the national

church, but dissenters were allowed a free toleration ; so here, they urged that all should be taxed for the maintenance of the congregational clergy ; but that whenever any dissented from the common faith, they should be allowed to worship as they pleased. But the number of those who adopted this opinion was always small. A great majority held from the first, that all should be taxed for the maintenance of religious worship, but that each individual should control the application of his own money. Whatever difficulties occurred, were such as arose from the execution of such a system.

In the year 1742, at a period of great religious agitation, laws were enacted, which bore with severity upon a part of the congregational clergy ; but affected not other denominations. These laws continued in force, a few years only. The great body of the congregational ministers, without doubt, approved of the laws, which had been passed in favor of dissent ; though individuals considered them as unwise, and threatening the destruction of the congregational system. The feeling of the clergy on the subject of religious liberty, in 1773, was fully expressed at the General Convention at Stamford. In a paper laid before that body, and which appears to have met with their approbation, it is said, " We have, indeed, a religious establishment ; but it is of such a kind, and with such universal toleration, that the consciences of other sects cannot be affected or wounded by it, while every one is at perfect liberty to worship God, in such way as is most agreeable to his own mind. Whatever oppressive measures have been heretofore adopted, we recollect with regret and disapprobation. We rejoice that these have ceased ; and that there is such freedom of religious inquiry and worship, that no man need be in bondage. We desire not the aid of other sects to maintain our churches ; and while we stand fast in the constitution we have chosen, and think it in doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the scripture, the unerring standard of faith and worship, we would not oppress others, nor be oppressed ourselves, but exercise good will and charity, to our brethren of other denominations, with fervent prayers, that peace and holiness, liberty, truth and purity, may be established more and more among those that name the name of Christ, and be universally diffused among mankind." This, it will be observed, was three years before the declaration of independence. What is here called an establishment, and which was then one in name only, was, within a few years, abolished ; and from that time, all sects were nominally as well as really, on an equality

as to legal privileges. Mr. Bancroft, who in his history of the United States, has arrived at more just conclusions respecting religious liberty in Connecticut, than any one out of this state, who has preceded him, is full in acquitting this commonwealth of the charge of intolerance.* If this historian had found it consistent with the plan of his work, to enter more into detail on this subject, he could have shown, that his opinions rest on indubitable facts. Douglass remarks in his Summary,† “I never heard of any persecuting spirit in Connecticut; in this they are egregiously aspersed. It is true, that a few years since, they made some acts against some frantic preachers and exhorters, called Methodists, intruding, without consent, into the pulpits of the established ministers.” Those, whom this writer calls Methodists, were known at the time, by the name of “New Lights.”—Of the measures of the legislature referred to, though unnecessarily severe, yet as the times were, a too unqualified condemnation, perhaps, has sometimes been pronounced. Dr. Trumbull, one of the most honest of historians as to facts, has shown in his narrative of the transactions of this period, in the opinion of some, a little of the spirit of a partizan. He took a strong personal interest in some of the events which he narrates; and those, who had an opportunity of conversing with him in his old age, on the topics in question, must have noticed, that he retained in their entire strength, all his youthful impressions. His conjectures respecting the transactions of the Guilford Consociation in 1741,‡ are not entirely correct; as appears from the minutes of the proceedings of that body; which Dr. Trumbull could not find, but which have been discovered since.

No one, it is hoped, will suppose, that in referring to the former ecclesiastical affairs of Connecticut, there has been any other object in view, than to clear this part of our history from some misapprehensions. But a much more extended view would be necessary to do this subject full justice. It is an obvious remark, that many of the relations of different sects to each other in former times, have ceased to exist; and that the faults of none, originating in causes, which no longer operate, should be considered the inheritance of the present generation. All have now full opportunity to show the excellencies of their respective systems, unincumbered with the past.

* Hist. of the U. States, Vol. II. 57.

† Vol. I. 135.

‡ Vol. II. 165.

NOTE K.

AT Plymouth, October 6th, 1657, Humphrey Norton, a quaker, was arraigned before the court, and "found guilty of diverse horrid errors, and was sentenced speedily to depart the government."* He was delivered over to the under-marshal, who was "required to accompany him as far as Asonett, towards Rhode Island." He soon after appeared on Long Island, at Southhold, and for his conduct there, was sent to New Haven for trial. He was brought before the court, March 10th, 1658; and being asked, "what call he had to make disturbance at Southhold, going into the meeting-house on the Lord's day, and there speaking in public, witnessing against Mr. Young, the pastor of that church, etc.; he would give no answer, but desired his charges might be read."—Various charges were then produced, respecting his deportment at Southhold, among which, besides uttering heretical opinions, it was alledged, that "he hath endeavored to vilify, or nullify, the just authority of the magistracy and government here settled," and that "in all these miscarriages he hath endeavored to disturb the peace of this jurisdiction." There seems to have been no difficulty in establishing the truth of the allegations. The proceedings are quite characteristic on both sides. When Mr. Davenport, who was summoned as a witness, appeared in court, "the said Humphrey was so unruly with his tongue, making disturbance, as it was much hindrance to Mr. Davenport in speaking; and though he was often by the court commanded silence, and to speak in an orderly way, yet he would not attend it, but would go on in a boisterous, bold, manner of speaking, uttering many words full of error and reproach." The spirit, however, was not uniform in its movements; for afterwards "he was told he might have liberty to speak what he had to say, and some questions were propounded unto him, but he would not answer." On the second day of the trial the court "proceeded to sentence," and say, that "they are willing to go in the lowest way the case will bear, so as they may but discharge a good conscience towards God with reference to such an offender. But the thing being of such a nature, and carried with such a high hand, both before he came hither, and since also, they can do no less, than order and declare, that he be severely whipped;

* Hazard, Vol. II. 552.

and branded on the hand with the letter H, for spreading his heretical opinions." He was excluded from the jurisdiction, and forbidden to return under heavy penalties. He was likewise fined ten pounds, as "the jurisdiction hath been put to much trouble and charge about him." The fine, one third being deducted, was paid in wampum, by a Dutchman from Manhadoes, of the name of Yoss. Norton appeared again at Plymouth, in June of the same year, and was again whipped there.

A letter from "the government of Rhode Island"—"to the General Court of Massachusetts," dated October, 1657, contains sentiments so correct, and statements, which show so clearly the character of the quakers, who at that time came into New England, that an extract is here given. They say, "Concerning these quakers, so called, which are now among us, we have no law among us, whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c., their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we, moreover, find, that in those places, where these people aforesaid, in this colony, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come; and we are informed, that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions; nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way. Surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers; and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we conceive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting down and overturning relations and civil government among men, if generally received."*

NOTE L.

THERE were several trials in New Haven, while a distinct colony, in which witchcraft was a subject of inquiry indirectly. Thus at a court of magistrates, August 4th, 1653, "Mrs. Elizabeth Godman charged Goodwife Livermore, that one time, when she saw her come in at Goodman Whitnel's, she said, so soon as she saw her, she

* Hazard, Vol. II. 552.—Hutch. Vol. I. 526.

thought of a witch : Goodwife Livermore said, that at one time, she had spoken to that purpose, &c." and then undertook to prove, that there was ground for her suspicions. Much ridiculous testimony was introduced. The decision of the court was, that Mrs. Godman's "carriage doth justly render her suspicious of witchcraft, which she herself in so many words confesseth : therefore, the court wisheth her to look to her carriage hereafter ; for if further proof come, these passages will not be forgotten, and therefore gave her charge not to go in an offensive way to folks' houses, in a railing manner, as it seems she hath done ; but that she keep her place and meddle with her own business." This, it is believed, is as strong a case of witchcraft as any which ever came before the New Haven courts.

Dr. Trumbull, in the preface to his History, speaks of "an obscure tradition, that one or two persons were executed at Stratford" for witchcraft, but that he could find nothing recorded on the subject. There is in the New Haven records, indirect evidence on the subject, which is thought to be decisive. Roger Ludlow, who had acted a distinguished part in the colony of Connecticut, and had resided for some time in Fairfield, which belonged to that colony, in the year 1654 removed to Virginia. At a court of magistrates in New Haven, May 29th, of the same year, Thomas Staples brought an action of defamation against Mr. Ludlow for saying, that his (Thomas Staples's) wife, "had caused Knapp's wife to be new searched, after she was hanged, and when she saw the *teates*, said, if they were the marks of a witch, then she was one, or she had such marks ; secondly, Mr. Ludlow said Knapp's wife told him, that Goodwife Staples was a witch," etc. Mr. Davenport was an important witness in this case, and testified, "that Mr. Ludlow sitting with him and his wife alone, and discoursing of the passages concerning Knapp's wife, the witch, and her execution," etc. A great number of witnesses imply fully in their testimony, that Knapp's wife was condemned and executed as a witch. It is implied also in testimony given at the same trial, that there had been an execution of a Goodwife Bassett at Stratford. "Knapp's wife," it is clear, had been tried by jury at Fairfield ; and it is probable, that Goodwife Bassett had her trial at the same place ; since Stratford was in Connecticut, and Fairfield was the place where courts were held.

Mr. Ludlow is known to have carried with him to Virginia, the records of Fairfield ; and these records were never recovered. This may be one reason of the uncertainty which has existed respecting

the fact of these executions. Dr. Trumbull examined the volume in which this trial for defamation is contained, as he has made extracts from other parts of it. He probably saw, that there was a record of a case of slander; but did not look far enough to ascertain what the slander was. If he had read the record, he would certainly have stated the facts as they there appear. How it happened, that this trial for defamation was in New Haven, is not explained.

After the union of New Haven with Connecticut, there was one trial for witchcraft; but the case was referred to the Court of Assistants at Hartford, where the accused was acquitted.

It may not be out of place here to add, that on reviewing the history of witchcraft, as it existed, not in Connecticut only, where probably but two executions occurred, but in other parts of New England, where the delusion respecting it was much more extensive, and likewise in Virginia, the ground of surprise is not, that so many, but that so few persons were condemned to death for this crime. On the continent of Europe, as well as in England, the number who suffered for witchcraft is vastly greater in proportion, and at a later period, than of those who were executed in the English colonies.*

NOTE M.

It has been said, that the declarations of the puritans in favor of the church of England, were insincere. But there is nothing in the spirit of them, to which, I suppose, the present congregational churches of New England would object, or in the language, so far as it is applicable to present circumstances, which they would refuse to adopt.

I do not recollect seeing it stated in any of our early histories, that the family of the Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem, removed to New Haven after his death. Mrs. Higginson, his widow, died here early in the year 1640. Her estate was the first which came before the court of magistrates for settlement, after the planting of the colony. As the court was guided in their decisions in this case, solely by what they were accustomed to call, the "general rules of righteousness," it may interest some to see a copy of the record. The orthography is not followed. The court was held Feb. 25, 1640.

* See Scott's Demonology, and Encycl. Amer. Article Witch.

"Mrs. Higginson, late planter of Quinmipiac, dying without making her will, and leaving behind her eight children, an inventory of her estate being taken, the court disposed of her estate and children as followeth, with consent and approbation of Mr. John Higginson, her eldest son.

The said John Higginson, the charges of his education considered, is only to have his father's books, together with the value of five pounds in bedding for his portion.

Francis Higginson, the second son, and Timothy, the third son, their education also considered, are to have each of them twenty pounds for their portions.

Theophilus Higginson, though well educated, yet in regard of his helpfulness to his mother and her estate, is to have forty pounds for his portion.

Samuel Higginson, is also to have forty pounds for his portion, and to be with Mr. Eaton as his servant, for the full term of two years from the first of March next ensuing.

Theophilus and Samuel are to have the lot, with all the accommodations belonging thereunto, equally to be divided betwixt them, for fifty pounds of their portions.

Ann Higginson, her daughter, is to have forty pounds for her portion, and her mother's old clothes, together with the remainder of the estate, when the debts and other portions are paid.

Charles Higginson is to have forty pounds to his portion, and to be with Thomas Fugill, as his apprentice, unto the full end and term of nine years, from the first of March next ensuing the date hereof; and the said Thomas Fugill is to find him what is convenient for him as a servant, and to keep him at school one year, or else to advantage him as much in his education as a year's learning comes to; and he is to have the benefit of the use of his portion till the said term be expired, and at the end thereof, to pay it to the said Charles Higginson, if he live till the said nine years be expired, but if he die before, then the said Thomas Fugill is to pay the said portion to the rest of his brothers, that are alive at the end of said nine years.

Neophytus Higginson being with Mr. Hough in the Bay of Massachusetts, is to remain with him, and to be brought up by him, till he attain the full age of twenty one years, and in the mean time Mr. Hough is to have forty pounds of the estate, which he is to pay to the said Neophytus, at the end of the said term, as his portion. When the farm at Saugus is sold, it is to be equally divided among the brothers."

NOTE N.

WHERE, and how, the story of the New Haven *Blue Laws*, originated, is a matter of some curiosity. According to Dr. Peters, whose authority as a historian, it is not necessary again to consider, the epithet *blue*, was applied to the laws of New Haven by the neighboring colonies, because these laws were thought peculiarly sanguinary; and he says, that *blue* is here equivalent to *bloody*. It is a sufficient refutation of this account of the matter, to say, that if there was any distinction between the colony of New Haven, and the other united colonies of New England, in the severity of their punishments, New Haven was the last of the number to gain this bad pre-eminence. Others have said, that certain laws of New Haven, of a more private and domestic kind, were bound in a blue cover; and hence the name. This explanation has as little probability as the preceding, for its support. It is well known, that on the restoration of Charles II., the puritans became the subject of every kind of reproach and contumely. Not only what was deserving of censure in their deportment, but their morality was especially held up to scorn. The epithet *blue* was applied to any one, who looked with disapprobation on the licentiousness of the times. The presbyterians, under which name all dissenters were often included, as they still dared to be the advocates of decency, were more particularly designated by this term; their religion and their morality being marked by it as mean, and contemptible. Thus Butler,

“For his religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit;
’Twas Presbyterian true *blue*.”

Hudib. Cant. I.

That this epithet of derision should find its way to the colonies was a matter of course. It was here applied not only to persons, but to the customs, institutions, and laws of the puritans, by those who wished to render the prevailing system ridiculous. Hence probably a belief with some, that a distinct system of laws, known as the ‘blue laws,’ must have had somewhere, a local habitation. It seems that the impression, that these laws had been embodied more especially in New Haven, had become quite common, as early at least as 1767. In the continuation of Smith’s History of New York,

published in the fourth volume of the Collections of the New York Historical Society, the author states, that being in New Haven, he examined the early records of the colony. He subjoins the following. "A note ought not to be suppressed respecting these records, to correct a voice of misplaced ridicule. Few there are, who speak of the blue laws, (a title, of the origin of which, the author was ignorant,) who do not imagine they form a code of rules for future conduct, drawn up by an enthusiastic, precise set of religionists; and if the inventions of wits, humorists, and buffoons were to be credited, they must consist of many large volumes. The author had the curiosity to resort to them, when the Commissaries met at New Haven, for adjusting a partition line between New York and the Massachusetts in 1767; and a parchment covered book of demi-royal paper was handed him for the laws asked for, as the only volume in the office passing under this odd title. It contains the memorials of the first establishment of the colony, which consisted of persons, who had wandered beyond the limits of the old charter of the Massachusetts Bay, and who, as yet unauthorized by the crown to set up any civil government in due form of law, resolved to conduct themselves by the Bible. As a necessary consequence, the judges they chose, took up an authority similar to that, which every religious man exercises over his own children and domestics. Hence their attention to the morals of the people, in instances with which the civil magistrate can never intermeddle, under a regular well-policed institution; because, to preserve liberty, they are cognizable only by parental authority. The select-man, under the blue laws, found it his duty to punish every contravention to the decorum enjoined by the broad commandments of heaven. The good-men and good-wives of the new society were admonished and fined for liberties daily corrected, but never made criminal by the laws of large and well-poised communities; and so far is the common idea of the blue laws being a collection of rules from being true, that they are only records of convictions, consonant, in the judgment of the magistrates, to the word of God, and dictates of reason. The prophet, priest, and king of this infant colony, was that Davenport, who was in such consideration as to be sent for to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in settling the religion of the English and Scotch nations. These remarks were, by the author, communicated to Mr. Hutchinson of Boston, then one of the Commissaries, and to other gentlemen of eminence in the colony and of the very town of New Haven, who heard them

as novelties; nor would the former adopt them, till he had recourse, the next day, to the records themselves.”*

The volume, examined by Judge Smith and Gov. Hutchinson, was evidently the first volume of the colonial records. The author is correct in saying, that this volume contains no code of laws; and there is nothing corresponding to what are called the blue laws, to be found in any other volume. He might have added, that the decisions of the magistrates to which he refers, though sometimes relating to matters of decorum, contain no references to any code of laws, or imply any such regulations as most of those, which Peters reports as the blue laws of New Haven. No proceedings before the magistrates, it is believed, are recorded, which imply, that the dress of the inhabitants was, in any degree, a matter of their cognizance; much less that such rules were enforced, as many of those mentioned by Peters. This author affirms, that among the blue laws, never suffered to be printed, were such laws as these,—“no one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the sabbath day.” “No woman shall kiss her child on the sabbath or fasting

* Judge Smith saw in the colony records, accounts of the efforts made by Mr. Davenport to establish a college in New Haven, and supposes erroneously that Yale College had this early origin. This mistake is the more remarkable, as the author himself was educated at Yale College, where he received his Bachelor's degree in 1745. “It was from this seminary,” [Yale College] he adds, truly, “that many of the western churches in New York and New Jersey, were afterwards furnished with their English clergymen. Mr. Smith, who was a tutor, and declined the Rector's chair of Yale College, vacant by the removal of Dr. Cutler, was the first lay character of it belonging to the colony of New York. Their numbers multiplied some years afterwards, and, especially, when at his instance, Mr. Philip Livingston, the second proprietor of the manor of that name, encouraged that academy, by sending several of his sons to it for their education. To the disgrace of our first planters, who beyond comparison surpassed their eastern neighbors in opulence, Mr. Delancey, a graduate of the University of Cambridge, and Mr. Smith, were, for many years, the only academics in this province, except such as were in holy orders; and so late, as the period we are now examining, [1746-47] the author did not recollect above thirteen more.” Of these thirteen, whose names are given by the author, twelve were graduated at Yale College. The William Smith mentioned above, who was a tutor of the college, was graduated 1719, and was the father of the author, Chief Justice Smith. That Mr. Smith was offered the Rector's chair, as above stated, must be received on such authority, as true; but the offer was probably made in an informal way, as the fact does not appear on the college records.

day." "No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas, or Saints' days, make mince pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet and jews-harp." "Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap:" and many others like these, of which there is no trace, it is believed, on the records; unless perhaps, playing cards would have come under censure.

Peters places to the account of New Haven, laws of other jurisdictions, but which New Haven knew nothing of. For instance, he says, there was a blue law, that "no priest shall abide in this dominion; he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return." There was a law against priests and jesuits in Massachusetts, and in New York, and they were to suffer death in certain cases; but there was no such law in New Haven. He mentions also a few laws, which may be found substantially, in the New Haven code. Thus, he enumerates among the blue laws, this against lying. "Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbor, shall sit in the stocks or be whipped fifteen stripes." The New Haven code, as before stated, contained a law against lying; but it is not here correctly represented; though it is a little remarkable, that the author in this instance, swerves less from the fact, than perhaps in the case of any other law in his whole list. He must have felt a peculiar horror of this ordinance; which circumstance probably fixed the terms of it more exactly in his mind. Gov. Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts, and Dr. Belknap, in his history of New Hampshire, enumerate laws in other colonies, which approach much nearer the character of the code described by Peters, than any thing, which ever was enjoined in the colony of New Haven.

Hubbard says,* "they," the colonists of New Haven, "were very vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially the punishment of offenders." This account is fully confirmed by the colony records. Their laws were not a dead letter; and the rigid execution of them may have given New Haven very early, the reputation of legislating in minute particulars, beyond what was fact. It is a little singular, that this colony should have had so extensively the name of regulating the cut of the hair, and the fashion of the dress of the inhabitants, when of the United Colonies, it was the only one which abstained from all laws of this description. Even the law respecting

tobacco in New Haven, went no farther than to forbid smoking, where buildings might be endangered.

It may be important here to add, that the New Haven Colonial records, including the records of the General Court, the court of magistrates, town meetings, and the settlement of estates, are nearly or quite entire; and in good preservation. It is most evident, from a very slight inspection of these volumes, that nothing of any importance was transacted in the colony, which was not recorded at the time, and with a detail of particulars, which precludes the possibility of there having been rules of conduct enforced by any public authority, which are not there mentioned.

NOTE O.

THE evidence of the early existence of the West India trade in New Haven, is found in the records of the settlement of the estates of some of the first planters. Thus, Isaac Allerton, who had been extensively engaged in commerce at Plymouth, continued in the same business at New Haven; and it appears from the Probate Records, that at the time of his death in 1659, he had business connections, among other places, at *Barbadoes*. The existence at New Haven of the same trade, though not its amount, may be traced in the Probate Records, from the time of the original colonists, to the establishment of a Custom House; when the evidence becomes direct.

NOTE P.

ACCORDING to Hubbard,* the first planters of New Haven, and of the other towns of the colony, were "several seasons sorely afflicted with diseases, especially fevers." He relates, that, some years, "an ague and fever hath been almost universal upon the plantations, yet little mortality; at other times it hath been very mortal in a plantation or two, when others, that have had as many sick, have scarcely made one grave."—"At one time or other every plantation, within less than these forty years, hath had its turn of heavy mortality, and some twice or thrice over." He adds, "setting aside the effects of this disease, those places have been generally very healthy, and, that notwithstanding, have been all along, and are at this day, in a very

increasing way ; growing numerous, over-stocked, and ready to look out for new plantations almost every where."

The early physicians in New Haven seem not to have been men of much eminence in their profession ; at least, the people of the town, had not, apparently, much confidence in their ability. Several attempts were made to procure physicians of more knowledge, and of larger experience. " At a General Court for New Haven, the 14th of November, 1651, the Governor acquainted the Court, that there is a physician come to the town ; who, he thinks, is willing to stay here, if he may have encouragement. He is a Frenchman, but hath lived in England, and in Holland, a great while ; and hath good testimonials from both places, and from the University of Franeker, where he hath approved himself in his disputations, able in understanding in that art : and Mr. Davenport saith, he finds in discourse with him, that his abilities answer the testimony given. Now the town may consider what they will do in the case ; for it is not good to neglect such providences of God, when they are offered. The Court after consideration desired the former committee to speak with him, and desire his settling amongst us ; and that he may have a house provided ; and encouraged in provisions, and what also is necessary, to the value of ten pounds." On the 17th of the same month, the committee reported, " that they had spoke with the French Doctor, and find his wants so many, that ten pounds will go but a little way, in providing for him." Arrangements were however made for procuring a house for his use, and furnishing it. A house was obtained by the committee, and furniture was loaned by various individuals. Among other reasons for their efforts, this is assigned, that the doctor " may be of good use, particularly in respect to Mrs. Davenport's case." The 9th of February following, " the magistrates and elders were desired to speak with the doctor, and see, if they cannot settle a more moderate price for his visiting of sick folks, than he hath yet taken." " The doctor," for he seems to have been always so called by way of eminence, was immovable on the point of compensation ; and, on his application, the town voted, in December, 1652, that " he shall have liberty to go, as he sees he hath opportunity." The name of this physician was *Chais*. A history of the medical profession in New Haven, from the settlement of the town, is a *desideratum*.

NOTE Q.

THERE is nothing on the colony records, which is inconsistent with the fact stated by Hubbard. Gov. Leete appears on all occasions, after the arrival of the charter, to have withheld his opinion on the course which it was proper to pursue. At "a meeting of the freemen of New Haven colony at New Haven, November 4th, 1662," Governor Leete desired the assembly "to speak their minds freely, for he designed, that the freemen themselves would give the substance of the answer [to Connecticut] voluntarily." "The governor further said, that for his part, he should not be forward to lead them in this case, lest any should think him ambitious of the place." This extraordinary modesty proceeded in part, without doubt, from his differing in opinion on the point at issue, from the great majority of the meeting. His opinion was, that the two colonies ought to be united under the new charter; and in this he was unquestionably right. The worthy governor seems to have thought it expedient to temporize a little; but there is no evidence, that he did any thing in violation of truth or integrity. Governor Leete retained fully the confidence of the people. He was continued governor of New Haven till the union. In 1670, he was elected Deputy Governor of Connecticut; and on the death of Gov. Winthrop in 1676, Gov. Leete was chosen to succeed him; and was governor of Connecticut, by annual election, till his death in 1683. Mather says of him, "in his whole government, he gave continual demonstrations of an excellent spirit, especially in that part of it, when the reconciliation and the coalition of the spirits of the people under it was to be accomplished."* Dr. Trumbull remarks of Gov. Leete, "In both colonies, he presided in times of the greatest difficulty, yet always conducted himself with such integrity and wisdom, as to meet the public approbation."†

* Magnal. Book II, 30.

† Hist. of Connect. Vol. I, Chap. xv.

CELEBRATION
OF THE
SECOND CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY,
OF THE
PLANTING OF NEW HAVEN.

APRIL 25, 1838.

ARRANGEMENTS having been made by a joint committee of the Connecticut Academy, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city, and the Select-men of the town of New Haven, for the celebration of this anniversary, at about half past eight o'clock, in the morning, the citizens began to assemble near the southern portico of the State House. Scholars of both sexes, of the several schools of the city, under the superintendence of their respective instructors, were arranged on the public square, from fifteen hundred to two thousand in number. The military escort consisted of the Artillery, under the command of Capt. Morris Tyler, and the Greys, under the command of Capt. Elijah Thompson. The procession was formed under the superintendence of Charles Robinson, Esq., Marshall of the day, assisted by several others. From the State House, the procession, comprising the various classes of citizens, and strangers, proceeded to Temple street, up Chapel street to College street, through College street to its intersection with George street; at which place under a spreading oak, Mr. Davenport preached his first sermon just two hundred years before. Here the procession halted, for religious

exercises. Not only the streets were filled, but the roofs of the neighboring houses were partly covered, and some persons had taken their stations in the trees. The number here assembled was variously estimated from four to five thousand. The exercises of this place were commenced by singing four stanzas of the 80th Psalm, in the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. Tune, *St. Martins*.

O take us Lord unto thy grace,
 convert our mindes to thee ;
 Shew forth to us thy joyfull face
 and we full safe shall be.

From Egypt, where it grew not well,
 thou brought'st a vine full deare ;
 The heathen folke thou didst expell,
 and thou didst plant it there.

Thou didst prepare for it a place,
 and set her rootes full fast ;
 That it did grow, and spring apace,
 and fill'd the land at last.

O Lord of Hoasts through thy good grace,
 convert us unto thee ;
 Behold us with a pleasant face,
 and then full safe are wee.

Near the spot where the oak tree is supposed to have stood, a stage was erected, on which the Rev. Frederick W. Hotchkiss, of Saybrook, attended by the Rev. L. Bacon, offered prayer. Mr. Hotchkiss is a native of New Haven. His mother was a direct descendant of Gov. Jones, and thus connected with the family of Gov. Eaton. Mr. Hotchkiss was distinctly heard by the whole assembly, and the prayer was peculiarly appropriate, solemn and impressive. After the religious exercises were closed, the procession was again formed, and moved down George street to State street, up State street to Elm street, up Elm street, by the place where the houses of Gov. Eaton and Mr. Davenport formerly stood, till it reached Temple street, and then down Temple street to the first Congregational Church, where

the society, whose first pastor was Mr. Davenport, worship ; and near which spot, the first house of worship was erected. At church, the following exercises were performed. The music was by a full choir, under the direction of Mr. Alling Brown.

I. HYMN. By WILLIAM T. BACON, A. B.

Lo! we are gathering here
Now in the young green year,
And welcoming
Th' days which the ocean o'er
Did, to New England's shore,
Those noble souls of yore,
Our fathers, bring.

Here where now temples rise,
Knelt they 'neath these same skies,
The woods among ;
And to the murmuring sea,
And to the forest free,
The home of liberty,
Echo'd their song.

Lives not then in our veins—
Speak not our battle plains—
A blood like theirs?
Aye! and from this same sod,
Fearing no tyrant's rod,
To the same Father, God,
Ascend *our* prayers.

Make theirs, O God, *our* fame;
Worthy to bear their name;
O may we ever be;
Thus, while each gladsome spring
Comes with its blossoming,
Loud shall our anthems ring
For them and thee!

Theirs was the godlike part—
 Theirs were the hand and heart—
 Trust-tried, though few :
 Grant that our souls be led,
 Thinking of our great dead,
 And by their spirit fed,
 To deeds as true.

So doth the eaglet, nurs'd
 High where the thunders burst,
 Gaze with fix'd eye,
 Till, gain'd its parent's form,
 With the same instinct warm,
 It breasts the same loud storm,
 And cleaves the sky.

2. READING OF ISAIAH XXXV. By REV. LORENZO T. BENNETT,
 Assistant minister of Trinity Church.

3. PRAYER. By REV. LEONARD BACON, Pastor of the first Con-
 gregational Church.

4. ANTHEM, from Isaiah xxxiv. 17, and xxxv. 1, 2. Words se-
 lected by REV. L. BACON. Music composed by REV. PROF. FITCH.

The LORD, He hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath di-
 vided it unto them by line ; they shall possess it forever. From gen-
 eration unto generation they shall dwell therein.

The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them ; the
 desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.

It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and sing-
 ing. The nations they shall see the glory of the LORD, and the ex-
 cellency of our God.

5. HISTORICAL DISCOURSE. By PROF. KINGSLEY.

6. PRAYER. By REV. EDWIN E. GRISWOLD, Minister of the Meth-
 odist Church.

7. HYMN. By REV. L. BACON.

THE Sabbath morn was bright and calm
 Upon the hills, the woods, the sea,
 When here the prayer and choral psalm,
 First rose, our fathers' God, to thee.

Thou heard'st, well-pleased, the song, the pray'r ;
 Thy blessing came ; and still its power
 Goes onward, through all time to bear
 The mem'ry of that holy hour.

What change ! Through pathless woods, no more
 The fierce and naked savage roams ;
 Sweet praise, along the cultur'd shore,
 Breaks from a thousand happy homes.

Law, freedom, truth, and faith in God,
 Came with those exiles o'er the waves ;
 And where their pilgrim feet have trod,
 The God they trusted guards their graves.

Here peace, beneath thy wings, and truth
 And law-girt freedom still shall dwell ;
 And rev'rend age to manly youth
 His treasured stores of wisdom tell.

And here thy name, O God of love,
 Successive thousands shall adore,
 Till these eternal hills remove,
 And spring adorns the earth no more.

8. BENEDICTION. By. REV. L. T. BENNETT.

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